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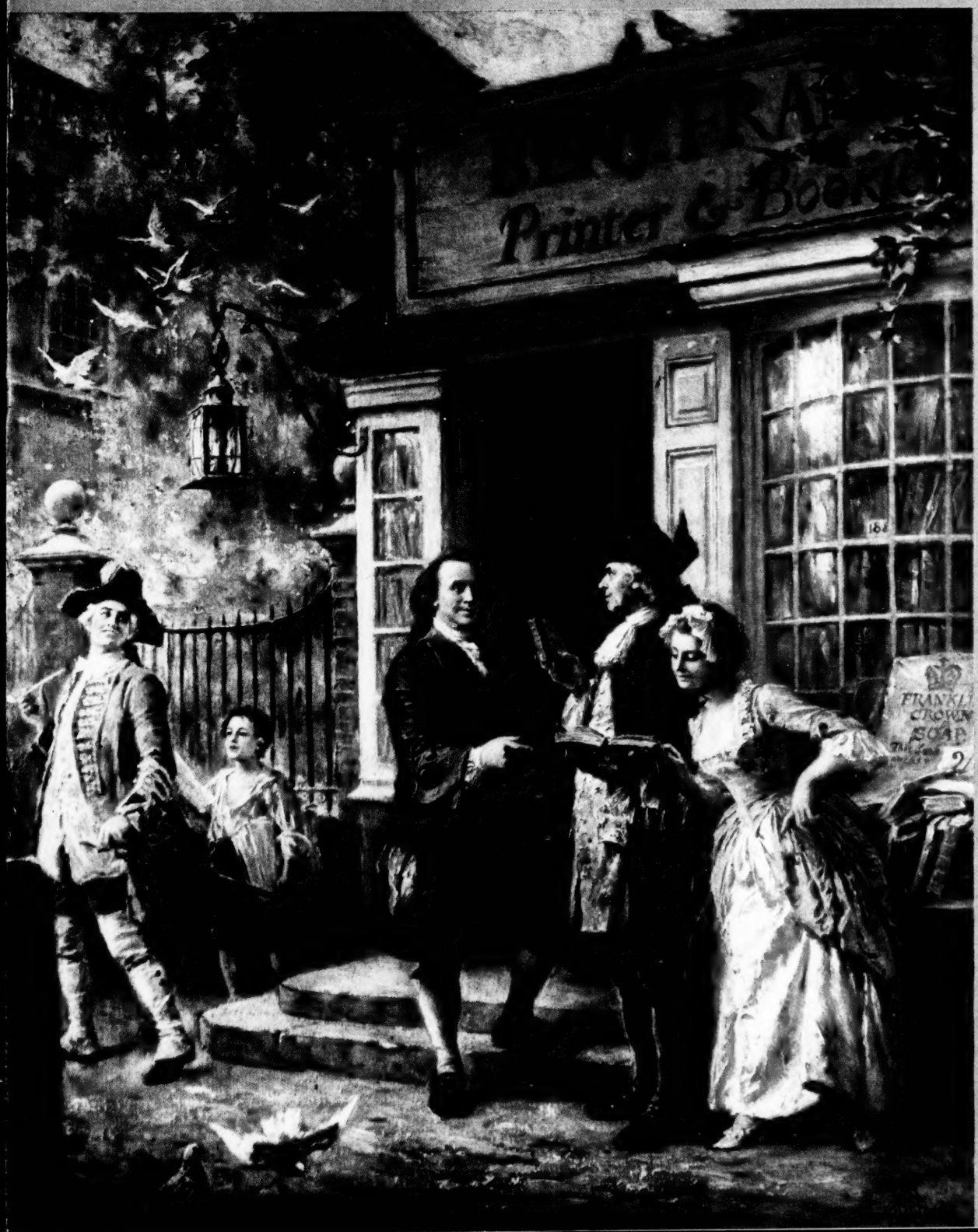
LIBERTY

WASHINGTON D. C.

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Religious Liberty Association

We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ; namely, that the church and the state have been placed side by side, each to work in its respective sphere. (Matt. 22:21; John 18:36.)

We believe that the Ten Commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.

We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is comprehended in the principle of love to God and love to our fellowman, and thus this religion needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.

We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful and willing obedience of all.

We believe it is the right and should be the privilege of every individual to worship or not to worship, or to change or not to change his religion, according to the dictates of his own conscience, but that in the exercise of this right he should respect the equal rights of others.

We believe that all legislation which unites church and state is subversive of human rights, potentially persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of the church and of the state; and therefore, that it is not within the province of human government to enact such legislation.

We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent the enactment of legislation which tends to unite church and state, and to oppose every movement toward such union, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

We believe in the individual's natural and inalienable right of freedom of conscience, and the right to profess, to practice, and to promulgate his religious beliefs; holding that these are the essence of religious liberty.

We believe that these liberties are embraced in the golden rule, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Religious Liberty Association, 6840 Eastern Avenue, Takoma Park, Washington 12, D.C.

In This Issue

Vol. 47, No. 3
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Quarter
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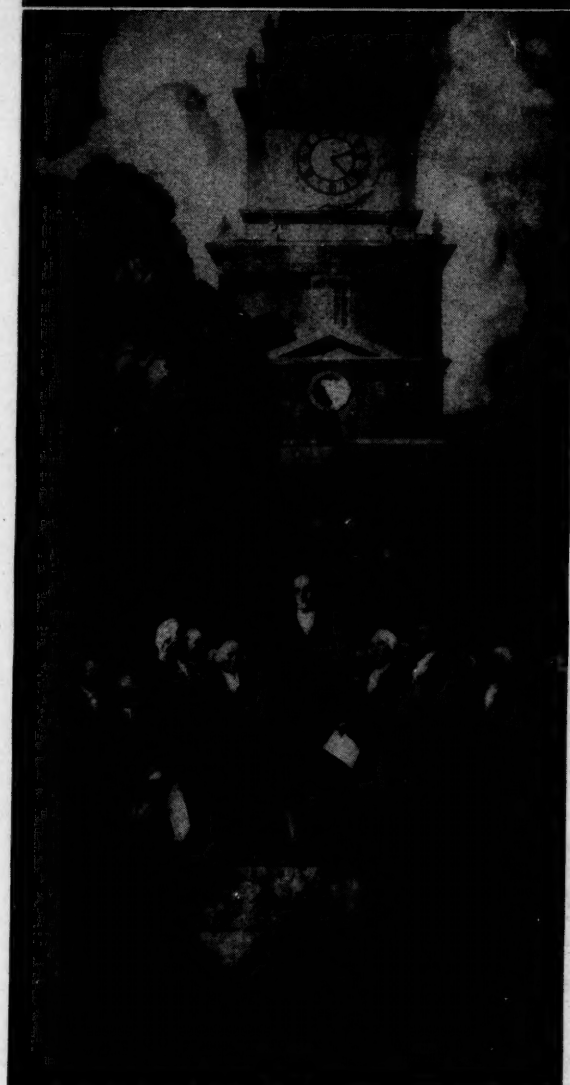
FRONT COVER

Franklin's Bookshop—Painting by J. L. G. Ferris. © by Dr. E. N. Ryder

ARTICLES

EDITORIALS

NEWS and COMMENT



Courtesy of Franklin Savings Bank of New York City

In this mural painting by N. C. Wyeth, Benjamin Franklin is the central figure, surrounded by many of his copatriots in front of the old Statehouse in Philadelphia.

Our Cover Picture

One of the large beams or supports driven deep into the soil of our republic is the principle of the freedom of the press. This liberty, along with the other inherent rights, has been one of the foundation stones that has helped to make firm and secure our great American democracy. So we have chosen the "Press" as our topic this quarter, and have turned to another of Mr. Ferris' masterful paintings for our cover picture, "Franklin's Bookshop." Mr. Franklin was not only one of America's greatest patriots but also one of her earliest printers. Certain indications point to Second Street, north of Christ Church in Philadelphia, as the location of his shop. Its exact position, however, is not known.

Mr. Franklin was soon joined in his enterprise by a Mr. Meredith, and in 1730 they began publishing "The Pennsylvania Gazette." "Poor Richard's Almanack" was published in 1732, besides essays and some verse. In addition to his books and papers, Franklin sold soap, in fact, anything that would bring in an honest penny.

The painting illustrates an anecdote of Franklin and his homely philosophy. An old gentleman passing the shop picked up a book and inquired the price. "Two shillings," replied Franklin. After some discussion the old gentleman offered one shilling and sixpence. "The price is three shillings." "But," said the buyer, "you had but now told me two."

"The price now is three; you have cost me in argument another shilling's worth of my time."

Back Cover

Poem, "A Prayer for Today"—Illustration by Russ Harlan

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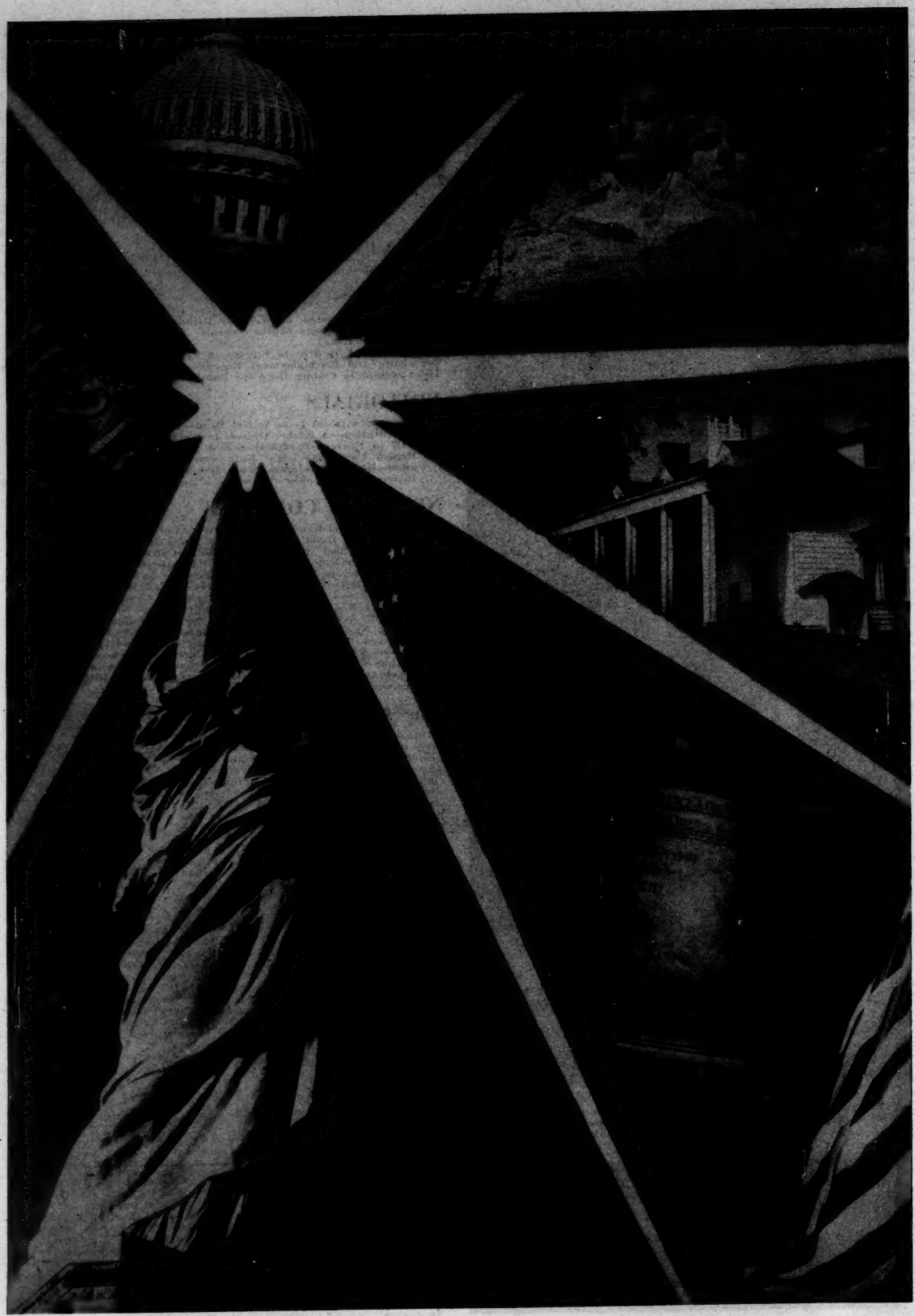


A. Devaney

Philip Bonn
From Library of Congress

Children of elementary ages studying in the library of one of the public schools of New York State.

The New York System of Weekday Religious Instruction

By FRANK H. YOST, Ph.D.

THE TEACHING OF RELIGION in the public schools has again been examined by the United States Supreme Court. On April 28, 1952, the highest court of our land supported as constitutional, provisions of the Education Law of the State of New York permitting pupils to be absent from the public schools, under arrangements made by the commissioner of education, in order to attend classes in religion conducted off the school grounds.

Undoubtedly this decision will entrench in the American way of doing things a definitive method of giving weekday religious instruction. It marks a climax of sorts to an effort in this direction of many years standing.

In this montage we can see between the rays of light from the torch in Liberty's hand some of the historical scenes and records of the past that high point America's struggle for freedom and her interest in preserving that heritage.

Since the so-called "Gary Plan" was introduced many years ago, a number of systems have been provided for weekday religious instruction. Because a large part of the weekday time is taken up with school activities, it was necessary to arrange some method whereby those interested in religious education, and the public school authorities, might work together to achieve the objective of religious education. Under the plan in effect in Gary, Indiana, the school authorities dismissed the pupils who wished to have religious education, and, without any supervision from the school, such pupils went to receive in the church, synagogue, or home the religious teaching their parents desired them to have. Through the years this plan, with certain modifications, was adopted in a large number of communities, until some forty States have taken official action authorizing weekday religious education connected in some way with the public

school system or machinery. Some two million pupils are enrolled annually in religious education classes, and more than two thousand communities are participating in the plan in one way or another.

As is natural in a democratic society, there has been much criticism of and opposition to this sort of procedure. The opposition has been advanced on social, psychological, religious, legal, and constitutional grounds:

1. That the teaching of religion is entirely a matter for the church, the church school, and the home, and that it should not be related in any way to the public school system.

2. That when the public school goes only so far as to dismiss certain pupils to go to various places for religious instruction, it emphasizes sectarian differences among the pupils, and causes friction and embarrassment, quite contrary to the American democratic spirit.

3. That there is little enough time for the public school to make effective its program of education, and for the teaching of religion to be intruded upon its time means to deprive the public school of full opportunity to accomplish the task it was created to perform.

4. That classes are broken up by having part of the pupils absent to attend religious classes, rendering impossible the efficient maintenance of the school program.

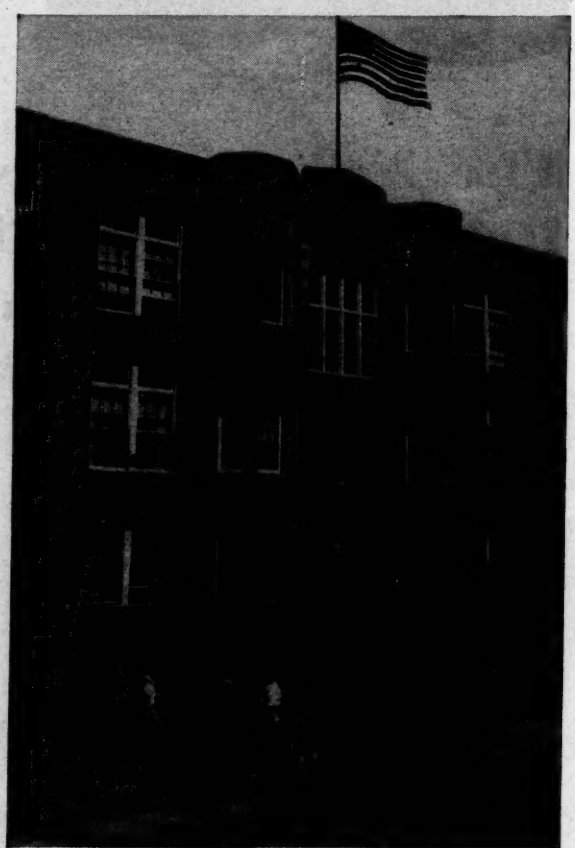
5. That when the public school system as an institution of government participates in any way in teaching religion or arranging for it to be taught, it puts government in the business of propagating religion, in direct trespass of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution, which provides that Congress, and through the application of the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments, the legislatures of the various States, "shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

6. That, more specifically, when the staffs or the machinery or the equipment or the property of the public school is used as a means to propagate religion through religion education classes, it is giving direct support to the establishment and the propagation of religion, in contravention of the laws of most States, which prohibit funds to be used in any way for the support of religion, as well as being contrary to the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Because the opposition was very clear cut, and citizens, singly and in groups, felt that to connect the public school in any way with the teaching of weekday religion classes was a serious threat to our democratic process, a number of suits were brought in the courts against one or another of the various plans for weekday religion education. These cases did not go beyond the State courts, and usually the State courts sustained the plans that were in operation.

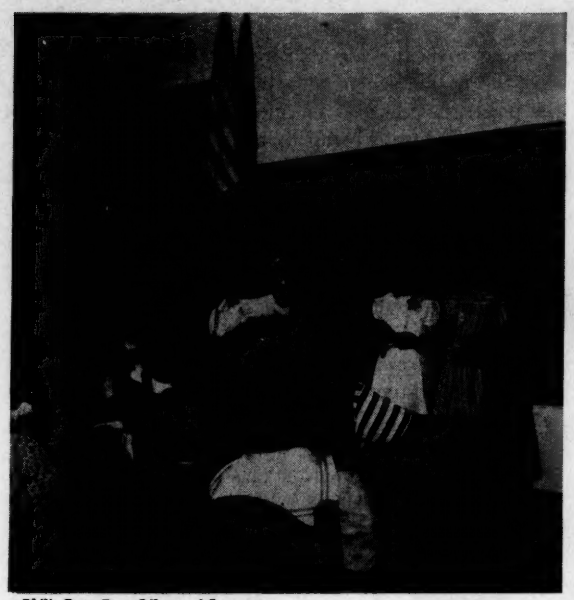
It was the plan for weekday religion classes put in effect by law in the State of Illinois that first moved the question beyond the State courts and put it under the purview of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Illinois law provided that the courses in religion should be under the supervision of a committee of citizens, taught under Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant forms. The properly constituted authorities in the Roman Catholic and Jewish communion made up the courses of study for children of their faiths, and a citizens' committee, in cooperation with the school authorities, arranged for a course of study suitable for children of Protestant leanings. From funds furnished by the churches, largely through local councils of churches, the citizens' committee hired teachers to give the instruction. Hours were arranged when the appointed teachers of religion came onto the school grounds and gathered into the classrooms of the public schools, where an hour's instruction was given the pupils who wished to pursue one or the other of the forms of religious instruction.

In order to avoid the problem of "peak loads" caused when all pupils who wished to take the religion classes were dismissed at the same time, the hours for the teaching of religion were staggered through the week, and pupils were dismissed, on the



Philip Bonn From Library of Congress

One unit of the public school system of the Empire State.



Philip Bonn From Library of Congress

An interesting classroom scene in New York State.

presentation of signed cards from the parents, to take this or that course in religion, according to the day and hour when it was appointed to be given. The pupils who did not participate were given some kind of study or activity under the supervision of a public school teacher, which would keep them occupied during the hour of the religion instruction.

Vigorous objection to this plan was voiced by a number of citizens, and protest became decidedly functional in the case of Mrs. Vashti McCollum, who had a boy studying in the Champaign, Illinois, schools. When her protests proved ineffective, suit was brought to court. The Illinois courts on the various levels supported the Illinois law providing religion classes. Mrs. McCollum and her supporters then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court declared the Illinois law unconstitutional. The decision handed down on March 8, 1948, ruled that it was definitely putting the Government into the business of propagating religion for the school staffs and school properties to be used for the teaching of religion as they were being used in the State of Illinois. Stressing one point or another in the case, eight of the nine justices of the Supreme Court concurred in declaring the Illinois method unconstitutional.

However, this by no means stopped the teaching of weekday religion classes in the public school system. The decision did not touch upon the matter of the churches arranging for the pupils to go to weekday religion classes in church, synagogue, or home at the close of the school day. It did not touch on the matter of having the pupils dismissed an hour early on one day or another, with the churches, synagogues, or parents arranging for the pupils to go to certain places after they left the school, to receive religion instruction. It did not rule upon the extent to which the staffs of the public schools could participate in supervising the pupils leaving the school grounds and being in regular attendance at the religion classes. Therefore, a large number of plans continued in force after the McCollum decision was handed down. Public school authorities cooperated in shortening the school day and in seeing to it that pupils were started on their way to the places where religion instruction would be given. In some cases busses were purchased and put on land adjoining the school ground, and religion classes were conducted in them.

The New York plan was continued in effect under the following provisions of the law:

"Absence for Religious Observance and Education

"Education Law

"Section 3210, subdivision 2-b *Absence.* Absence from required attendance shall be permitted only for causes allowed by the general rules and practices of the public schools. Absence for religious observance and education shall be permitted under rules that the commissioner shall establish.

"Regulations of the Commissioner of Education

"Section 154 Absence from school

"1 Absence of a pupil from school during school hours for religious observance and education to be had outside the school building and grounds will be excused upon the request in writing signed by the parent or guardian of the pupil.

"2 The courses in religious observance and education must be maintained and operated by or under the control of duly constituted religious bodies.

"3 Pupils must be registered for the courses and a copy of the registration filed with the local public school authorities.

"4 Reports of attendance of pupils upon such courses shall be filed with the principal or teacher at the end of each week.

"5 Such absence shall be for not more than one hour each week at the close of a session at a time to be fixed by the local school authorities.

"6 In the event that more than one school for religious observance and education is maintained in any district, the hour for absence for each particular public school in such district shall be the same for all such religious schools."

It will be noted that the written requests of parent or guardian was necessary to secure the dismissal of the pupil from the public school program; that the program of religion classes must be under the control of "duly constituted religious bodies," which meant of course that the commissioner of education of the State of New York had the responsibility of determining what were the "duly constituted religious bodies"; and that a copy of the registration for the religion class and report of attendance must be filed with the public school authorities. This provision put

the pupils who attended the religion education classes under the supervision of the truancy officers.

The majority opinion on the New York law, written by Justice Douglas, with Justices Black, Frankfurter, and Jackson dissenting, pointed out that the Supreme Court was not concerned with the question of whether or not it was wise to have religion classes in connection with the public school system or whether or not it is efficient, but with the sole question as to whether or not the religion classes were carried on in violation of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Justice Douglas pointed out that under the New York plan there was no evidence of coercion in having the children attend the religion classes. The First Amendment, which sets forth the principle of separation of church and state, does not require that the state shall be hostile to religion. The state recognizes the fact of religion. It exempts churches from property taxes. It grants them police and fire protection. Prayer is offered in legislative assemblies. The President proclaims a public Thanksgiving Day. Courtroom oaths use the expression "so help me God." If the New York law were declared unconstitutional, it would prevent the public schools from permitting a pupil to be absent to attend a religious service held during public school hours, even though required by his religious faith. "Government may not finance religious groups nor undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian education nor use secular institutions to force one or some religion on any person." "The government must be neutral when it comes to competition between sects." "It may not make a religious observance compulsory. It may not coerce anyone to attend church, to observe a religious holiday, or to take religious instruction." But "when the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs." The New York case differs from the McCollum case in that the school property and school staff are not used in giving the religious instruction. No public funds are expended in relation to the religion crisis. New York has not "made a law respecting an establishment of religion within the meaning of the First Amendment." Therefore, the New York law was sustained.

Undoubtedly this decision protects the right of the parents to see to it that their children receive religious instruction. It protects the right of the parents to withdraw their pupils from the public school routine in order to attend religious services. It safeguards the public school as a state institution from seeming to be hostile to religion. It makes it clear that the public school may not so absorb the time of the pupil that there is no opportunity left for clergymen or parents to bring to the child the instruction in religion all are agreed he should have.

But the dissenting justices in three separate opinions agree in emphasizing that paragraph 4 of section 154 brings in the principle of coercion in attendance upon the religion classes, and that that coercion is exerted through the public school machinery. This paragraph provides that the reports of attendance of pupils at these religion courses, when the pupils have been duly registered as provided in paragraph 3, shall be made to the public school authorities; that is, the public school authorities release the pupil only to attend a specific education class, and if having registered for such a class, he does not attend, the truant officers must see to it that he does so, or return to full attendance in the public school. As Justice Black expressed it, "Here the sole question is whether New York can use its compulsory education laws to help religious sects get attendants presumably too unenthusiastic to go unless moved to do so by the pressure of this state machinery. That this is the plan, purpose, design and consequence of the New York program cannot be denied. The state thus makes religious sects beneficiaries of its power to compel children to attend secular schools. Any use of such coercive power by the state to help or hinder some religious sects or to prefer all religious sects over nonbelievers or vice versa is just what I think the First Amendment forbids. In considering whether a state has entered this forbidden field the question is not whether it has entered too far but whether it has entered at all. New York is manipulating its compulsory education laws to help religious sects get pupils. This is not separation but combination of Church and State."

Here lies the danger in the New York decision. For the community to decide that there are to be classes in religion for the children of public school age, and that they are to make the public school authorities aware that that instruction will be given at certain hours heretofore used by the public school, and that certain pupils are to be released from the public school activities at those hours at the written request of the parents, falls in the category of religious freedom. But for the machinery of the public school system to be used to supervise the pupil's attendance at the religion class, is to introduce coercion by the state in matters of religion. The distinction is a fine one, but a significant one. In the New York decision the church and the state have been joined at a point where their union is dangerous.

The Clerical Challenge to the Schools

By AGNES E. MEYER

"How can the Protestant Churches," asks AGNES E. MEYER, *"oppose with a good conscience the Catholic campaign to break down the wall between Church and State when they themselves have for years been breaching that wall by other methods?" A graduate and trustee of Barnard College and the mother of five children, Mrs. Meyer has served on several national commissions on Education and on Health. Last year she received the Annual Award of the Education Writers Association.*

Selby

Agnes E. Meyer

1

IT IS NO MERE VAGARY OF TASTE that has brought about in this period of revolution a rediscovery of Thomas Jefferson and a reappraisal of him as the outstanding scholar and humanitarian and the most creative mind of our first Revolution.

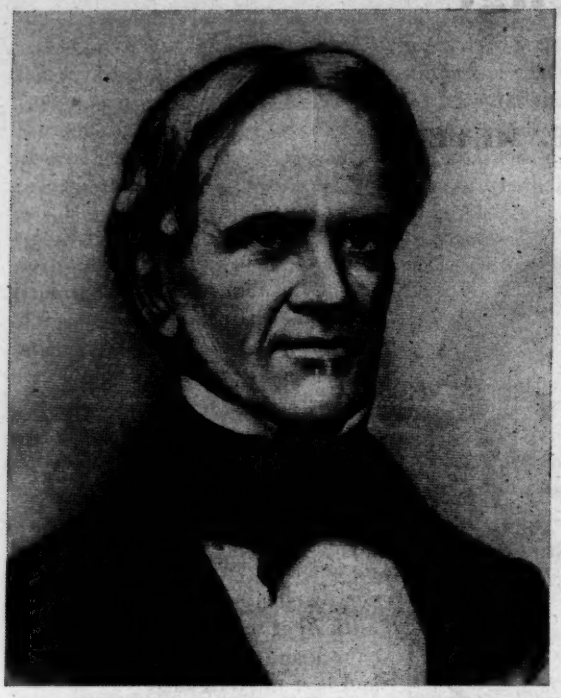
What were Jefferson's greatest achievements? He himself told us when he wrote the epitaph for his tombstone: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom and Father of the University of Virginia."

The Virginia act ranked high in Jefferson's mind because he considered that in this act for civil and religious freedom he had already created for the people of Virginia, and he hoped eventually for the nation, the "wall of separation between Church and State" which the First Amendment read into the Constitution. The State should neither support nor oppose any particular form of Church. It should leave the Churches strictly alone and the Churches should leave the State and all its institutions strictly alone. In the course of time this became the official American position and, as Jefferson foresaw and James Bryce confirmed, it saved our nation all the bloodshed, cruelties, and intolerance which have defaced the history of religious strife in Europe.

The separation of Church and State is not merely a principle of our democracy but a body of experience that we have lived for a hundred and fifty years. The written law became so thoroughly accepted as a commonplace of our American culture that recent historians have taken it for granted. As a result the man in the street has forgotten the immense contribution it has made to all of his freedoms, not only of religion, but of thought, speech, and press. Jefferson evolved this principle because he hated every form of tyranny over the mind, but unless the average person has some awareness of this he can scarcely share the passionate conviction of the late Justice Rutledge's statement: "We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation of church and state is best for the state and best for religion."

Today the Protestant and Catholic Church leaders are giving ample proof that they have both forgotten what a profound debt they owe to the "wall of separation." It was the Protestant Churches which first breached this wall when, just before the First World War, they introduced the released time program for religious education in the public schools. The Protestant clergy had become alarmed on reading the report of the United States Office of Education that "only a small proportion of the children throughout the country have even brief contact with church influence." Instead of asking themselves whether this failure may not have resulted from their own inadequacy, they decided that they must invade the schools with methods of education not powerful enough to attract American families to their churches. Nor have they ever explained why teaching that was ineffective in the churches would be more effective in the schools.

The released time program was of two types. In some communities the clergy entered the schools to teach their sectarian creeds; in others the children were dismissed from school attendance to go to a church of the parents' choice for religious instruction. The former plan, whereby the clergy enter the public schools, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the McCollum decision. Did this make an impression on the clergy? On some, yes. On others, no. "It must be said to the shame of Protestantism," says the Reverend Charles Clayton Morrison, "that in too many cases and communities the



HORACE MANN, EARLY AMERICAN EDUCATOR

Our American schools, like those of Europe, were founded by the churches. But when our schools were finally secularized toward the middle of the last century, under the leadership of Horace Mann, that movement was not anticlerical or antireligious.

Protestant churches still carry on the released time practice and, in some cases, even more flagrant forms of violation, in defiance of the Supreme Court's mandate. I contend that all Protestants should have hailed the Supreme Court's decision with deep satisfaction and immediately withdrawn from every semblance of continuing the released time practice. Protestantism has an incomparably greater stake in the separation of church and state than it could possibly have in the trivial religious education toy called released time." The scholarly Dr. Morrison is a Protestant voice calling in a wilderness of religious confusion. One of the few resolutions passed unanimously by the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. at its recent meeting in Atlanta stated that the Council would support the New York plan of released time whereby pupils leave the public schools an hour early, when the appeal is argued before the Supreme Court.

Yet simultaneously the Council has issued a strong manifesto opposing the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican on the ground that such an appointment fuses government with religion and is therefore an infringement of the separation of Church and State. When the Protestants bring up the First Amendment in this question, they themselves admit that they are on dubious ground.

It is irresolute Protestant thinking such as this which endangers the wall of separation far more than the outright declaration of war upon the First Amendment which the Catholic Bishops made in their official statement of 1948, "The Christian in Action."

Protestant leadership must begin to realize that its position on the First Amendment is painfully ambiguous, whereas the position of the Catholic Church on this vital problem is crystal clear. The Administrative Catholic Bishops boldly declared the American principle of separation of Church and State a "novel" interpretation of the Constitution, "a shibboleth of doctrinaire secularism" which was recently invented by the Supreme Court in the McCollum decision. They attacked that decision as unconstitutional and announced their determination to work "peacefully, patiently and perseveringly" for its reversal.

Since the Catholic Bishops intend to reverse the McCollum decision, they must necessarily bring to bear all the arguments they can muster in favor of the New York released time legislation when it comes before the Supreme Court. This is a logical consequence of their position.

Yet nobody has spoken more frankly against the 1948 pronouncement of the Catholic Bishops than certain Protestant leaders and publications. They have pointed out what American experience has confirmed—the dependence of democracy on freedom of religious conscience and the impossibility of assuring this without complete separation of Church and State. Thus the Bishops' statement places the Catholic hierarchy in permanent hostility to American democratic principles. Some Protestant authorities claim that the Bishops' statement does more than that. It challenges the very meaning of America, the whole Jeffersonian doctrine of civil and religious freedom and our very philosophy of life, our belief in human progress, our hopeful concept of man and his ability to govern himself. Thus, unless the Bishops' pronouncement of 1948 is retracted, their challenge is bound to precipitate a division in this country, of whose intensity the present religious hostilities are merely a foretaste.

But how, I should like to ask the Protestant Churches, can they logically defend the First Amendment if their own position on the separation of Church and State remains as ambiguous, vacillating, and contradictory as it is today?

At present the Protestant Churches are conducting a violent campaign against Catholic ambitions for Federal aid to their parochial schools, for the extension of bus transportation for parochial school pupils, and other services which the Catholic prelates minimize as "incidental." "It [the Catholic Church] seeks to crack the Constitutional principle of separation of Church and State," said the Reverend Charles Clayton Morrison before the Convention of the Disci-

ples of Christ, "at some point where the average citizen will not discern that it is being cracked and where even the courts may find a way of rationalizing their approval." But that is precisely what the Protestants did when they first introduced religious training on public school time—they cracked the First Amendment at a point where neither the average citizen nor they themselves discerned that it was being cracked. And now they are trying to persuade the Supreme Court Justices to find a way of rationalizing their approval. How can the Protestant Churches oppose with a good conscience the Catholic campaign to break down the wall between Church and State when they themselves have for years been breaching that wall by other methods?

2

Our American schools, like those of Europe, were founded by the Churches. But when our schools were finally secularized toward the middle of the last century, under the leadership of Horace Mann, that movement was not anticlerical or antireligious. To be sure, the sectarian conflicts of that period and their destructive influence on the schools played an important part in the movement. But there was nothing negative or hostile about the agreement to adhere to separation of State and Church in public education. The secularization of our schools was a positive movement to embody in American education the interaction of the real and the ideal, upon which both democracy and active Christianity depend. Whenever a human being strives upward toward self-development, goodness, and concern for others, there the divine will is active.

The educational program, moreover, has never excluded instruction about religion. It banished only instruction *in* religion when the schools were secularized. If we bear in mind that the whole future of our democracy depends upon moral solidarity, freedom of conscience, and freedom of inquiry, the secularization of our schools becomes an act of sublime courage and of sublime loyalty to the American faith that our institutions should be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

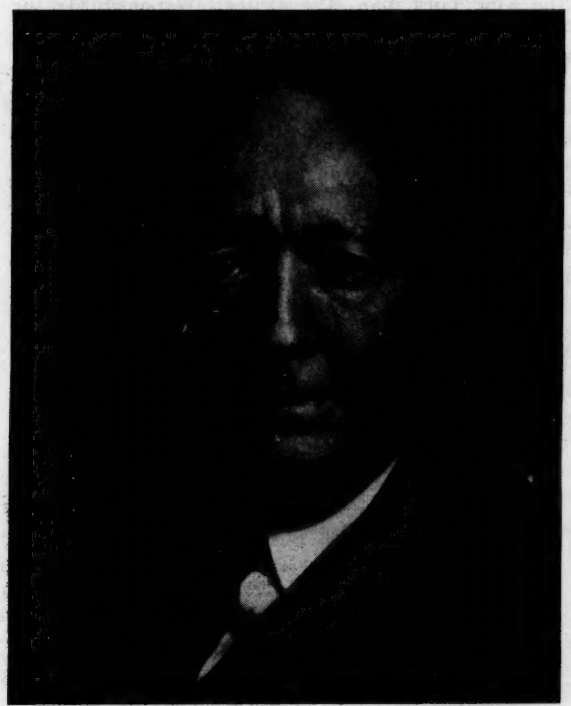
Although the Supreme Court in the McCollum decision has declared unconstitutional a form of released time program which permits the clergy to enter the public schools to teach sectarian creeds, the New York plan, which proposes that public school pupils leave school an hour before the general dismissal to receive religious instruction, remains in a realm of doubtful legality.

The crux of the McCollum decision lies in the following extract from Justice Black's opinion for the Court:—

> The foregoing facts, without reference to others that appear in the record, show the use of tax-supported property for religious instruction and the close cooperation between the school authorities and the religious council in promoting religious education. The operation of the state's compulsory education system thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects. Pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon the condition that they attend the religious classes. This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith. And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth).

Three elements are here held illegal by the Court:—

1. Although the use of tax-supported property does not enter into the New York released time program, the use of tax moneys does. The New York City Board of Education alone provides a million dollars' worth of educational opportunity which is not used by the 102,705 released time students in that city and is consequently wasted. But it is not only the small proportion of children who are dismissed that lose an hour of instruction. The education of the majority who remain in school comes to a halt in order that the



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ASSOCIATE JUSTICE BLACK of the UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Justice Black, in his opinion for the court in the McCollum decision, said that beyond all question a utilization of the tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups spread their faith falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment.

At the last session of the White House Conference on Children and Youth, held in December, 1950, the 4,620 delegates voted by a majority of about two to one the following resolution: "Recognizing knowledge and understanding of religious and ethical concepts as essential to the development of spiritual values and that nothing is of greater importance to the moral and spiritual health of our nation than the works of religious education in our homes and families and in our institutions of organized religion, we nevertheless strongly affirm the principle of separation of church and state which has been the keystone of our American democracy and declare ourselves unalterably opposed to the use of public schools directly or indirectly for religious educational purposes." The delegates voting represented about three fourths of our total population.

dismissed children shall not fall behind in their school lessons. Thus the whole class, and in some cases the whole elementary school, together with the teaching staff, is deprived of one hour of educational opportunity per week. The total waste of taxpayers' money is incalculably large.

2. The close cooperation between school authorities and religious groups in promoting religious education, which the Supreme Court condemns, also exists in the New York plan. The ultimate responsibility for the administration of the program rests wholly with the public school teachers and principals. On them also falls the burden of interpreting the policy of the Board of Education and of executing the mandates of the law. Whether the religious instruction is given within the school or without, the operation of the State's compulsory education system assists and is integrated with a program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects.

The third point made by the Supreme Court, that "pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon condition that they attend the religious classes," is an exact description of what also happens under the New York program and therefore "falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment," as Justice Black put it. This point is reinforced by the Everson decision of the Supreme Court, which states: "The prohibition [of the First Amendment] broadly forbids state support, financial *or otherwise,* of religion in any sense, form or degree."

These and other quotations from the McCollum and Everson decisions apply so clearly and forcibly to the released time plan of religious instruction that many states and localities have already canceled this type of program. In St. Louis, Missouri, when the local board of education decided to disregard the opinion of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and continue classes on released time outside of the school buildings but without the enforcement of attendance by the public schools, the Circuit Court enjoined the practice, stating in part:—

> The differences [between the St. Louis case and the McCollum case] are inconsequential. The controlling fact in both cases is that the public schools are used to aid sectarian groups to disseminate their doctrines. Whether these sectarian classes are conducted in school buildings or elsewhere can make no difference, since attendance upon them during compulsory school hours is deemed attendance at school. Failure to exercise supervision over the instruction of religion and to require the keeping of proper attendance records does not make the school program legal; it merely indicates laxity on the part of the school authorities. The fact that any sect may participate in this program is immaterial; the public school cannot be used to aid one religion or to aid all religions.

3

Have the Protestant Churches ever asked themselves whether their intrusion into the schools is, in itself, a moral act?

They advance the argument, for example, that there is no compulsion on the children to take advantage of released time religious training, that parents are free to decide whether their children are to participate, and that therefore the program does not infringe upon the freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment. A scientific survey of the New York City released time program made by the Center for Field Services of New York University reports evidence "that resistance of children released for religious instruction presents a problem." Frequently the children refuse to go because they prefer to stay in school. Some teachers interpret the word "dismiss" as permissive and let the children do as they please. Others interpret "dismiss" to mean pressure, and force the children to go.

I have, personally, experienced the pressure, the unhappiness, the rancor, created by the program, especially in small communities, not only among children but among their parents. I have known teachers to use their influence to force children into these programs, and others who burned with silent rage because they resented the tensions the program creates but lacked the freedom to condemn it. In fact, the pressure on the teachers and school administrators is just as wicked as the pressure on the children. Would a teacher who values her position dare to oppose or even criticize the Churches openly? What irony that a program to teach Christian love should create acute conflicts, confusion, and hatred!

Justice Frankfurter had the psychological insight to realize the cruel situations the program would create when he said in his McCollum brief: "That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to the conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates and non-conformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. The result is obvious pressure upon children to attend."

Some adherents of the program profess to see an improvement in the children's morals. Yet it is a commonly known fact throughout the country, and the report on New York City confirms it, that the released time is an invitation to truancy. Reliable statistics show that about 40 per cent of the children who leave their schools never arrive at the religious centers. Often the children play in the school yard and disturb the school session. Others start out but never arrive. Principals realize that this trend will grow because the Churches cannot control attendance and the teachers are forbidden to do it. Some Churches try to prevent truancy by sending escorts to conduct the children from school to church. Most do not take this precaution. The escorts sometimes fail to appear. Often the religious centers call off their program at the last minute, for lack of personnel. If the children have already left school, they can all play hooky. As the children are caught in an equivocal situation, they lie their way out of their difficulties. Since the object of the released time training is the betterment of character and conduct, the truancy and dishonesty to which it tempts children negate its objectives.

The children often travel so far to arrive at the religious center that there is but a small part of the hour left for instruction. The belief that children can benefit from a half hour or even forty-five minutes of oral instruction once a week, especially if their parents have no church affiliation, indicates a superficial concept of religion.

The released time program is unjust because it penalizes the majority of the children who remain in school. If the public school teachers carry on worthwhile activities during this hour, the clergy denounce them for unfair competition. In Chicago, when less than 10 per cent of the pupils were enrolled in the released time program, the principals received orders that "nothing significant shall be taught the children not taking religious instruction." In one elementary school in Westchester County, ten children out of some five hundred use the released time program. As they come from various classes, the whole school loses an hour of work. The indignant parents asked the principal whether the regular curriculum could not be restored. The principal was so terrified of the clergy that he refused to take up the question with them. On the slightest challenge of clerical omniscience, a teacher's whole future may be—and often is—ruined by accusations of atheism. As a result, sabotage of public education and intimidation of schoolteachers, principals, and parents are taking place all over the country. This is tyranny.

It was demonstrated in December, 1950, at the last session of the White House Conference on Children and Youth, that the vast majority of the American people are determined to protect the freedom of their public schools. The 4620 delegates to this Conference were outstanding local leaders in the fields of religion, education, health, welfare; of women's and service clubs; of the labor unions, fraternal organizations, and other major groups.

The committee on religion had submitted to the Conference a report of four paragraphs, one of which recommended that the students of public educational institutions throughout the nation should be allowed to go during school hours to any near-by religious foundation for religious instruction and receive credit toward graduation for such courses. This plan, if it had been accepted, would have wrecked the curriculum and the discipline, the moral integrity and the independence, of our whole public school system. It indicates to what extremes the released-time program would be carried by some of the clergy if they are not promptly denied all access to the public schools by the courts.

One of the delegates proposed that the whole religious section be struck out and the following resolution substituted:—

> Recognizing knowledge and understanding of religious and ethical concepts as essential to the development of spiritual values and that nothing is of greater importance to the moral and spiritual health of our nation than the works of religious education in our homes and families and

in our institutions of organized religion, we nevertheless strongly affirm the principle of separation of church and state which has been the keystone of our American democracy and declare ourselves unalterably opposed to the use of the public schools directly or indirectly for religious educational purposes.

After long and heated debate this resolution was carried by a majority of about two to one.

This was an epoch-making event because it was the first time that the released time program for religious instruction was democratically debated and submitted to the test of public opinion in a gathering whose delegates represented, conservatively estimated, three fourths of our total population. The overwhelming popular vote indicated that the majority of our people are willing to fight to maintain the independence of our schools.

I, too, believe that the child is robbed of its full development if it receives no guidance in early years toward recognition of the religious aspects of life. But this teaching, to be effective, must originate in the home and family life with the cooperation of the Churches. The child's whole character and spontaneous sense of right and wrong are largely determined before it goes to school. Before school age the responsibility for the child's development lies with the family and the Church. It is the weakness of these two institutions and their failure for several generations to develop the character of the pre-school child that have now created acute moral problems. Having failed in their primary mission to strengthen the family and reach the children during their most impressionable and formative years, the Churches now seek a short cut, through the released time program, which will cure overnight the moral defects of children who have been neglected throughout infancy.

A very forthright German Catholic Bishop told me last year that he was pessimistic about the future of the family in that country. "And if the family goes, the Church goes," he added gloomily. This is an accurate appraisal of the predicament in which organized religion finds itself. Therefore, if the Churches are honestly concerned about the future of Christianity they should spend all their efforts upon saving the family instead of wasting them upon a futile and ineffective released time program. Why invade the public schools to do a superficial job, when the Churches need all their energy, money, and spiritual fortitude to do a more salutary job right in their own parishes?

The school needs all of its time to improve the education of our children and to center upon the task of developing the morality and strength of character that are ideals common to men of all religious faiths. This task is made difficult when the Churches force the school to engage in programs that generate divisiveness. The children are in school only five or six hours a day, about two hundred days of the year. That leaves the Churches ample time to teach religion.

Now that freedom is threatened as never before, Protestantism has a special responsibility to live up to its sublime traditions as the guardian of individual rights, human liberty, and democratic solidarity. If the Protestant leaders will review the effects of the released time program, they will find that it destroys everything that Protestantism has always cherished as its highest ideals. For it is oppressive, unjust, and disruptive of moral discipline. It undermines the legitimate and the unique task of the public schools to establish an integrated program of education that will bind our American children as comrades in a common life.

Protestant publications, notably the *Christian Century,* have often expressed their fear of "pluralism," the division of our citizens into separate isolated religious groups. Nothing encourages pluralism more than breaking up public school children into separate released time groups. Either the wall of separation between the school and the sectarian groups must be kept invulnerable or the walls between the sectarian groups will become impassably high.

Moreover, the Churches will only weaken themselves if they use the school as a policeman and teach the children to associate religious instruction with the school rather than the church. By leaning on the schools, the Churches are postponing the time when they must face their real task—of developing religious depth and imparting this sense of depth by educational methods in tune with the needs of the day. The Churches should long ago have discarded their outworn authoritarian verbalism for educational methods based on experience such as our schools have developed. The outmoded methods of instruction of the Churches can only lead to contempt for religion, especially when placed in close juxtaposition with the more vital methods of education that prevail in our best schools.

Our public schools have been one of the most important factors in making America what it is. They became fundamental to the progress and the spiritual vitality of our country. Weaken them and we weaken our entire fabric. We jeopardize our whole future and our contributions to the welfare of mankind.

A home where the Word of God is revered will produce citizens that will be an asset to the nation.

Eva Luoma Photo

This article by Mrs. Meyer is used by permission of the Atlantic Monthly for March, 1952.

A scenic view of the dome of Saint Peter's in Vatican City. *T. K. Martin, Artist*

The Vatican Issue

By GLENN L. ARCHER

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S PROPOSAL to send a United States diplomat to the State of Vatican City has not been withdrawn, and so at any moment another hapless victim may be brought forth as the President's second sacrificial offering to the great god Politics, the first having been General Mark Clark.

What would a United States diplomat at the Vatican be expected to do? The answers given are confused and contradictory. According to the White House announcement of the move on October 20, 1951, he would be expected to serve "the purposes of diplomacy and humanitarianism" and to assist in "coordinating the effort to combat the Communist menace." Most commentators, in elaborating on this, explained that the Vatican was reputed to be an excellent "listening post" for the gathering of strategic information against our potential Communist enemies. But it was not long before the hollowness of this argument was exposed by publications which can by no stretch of the imagination be labeled "anti-Catholic"—*Time* magazine and *U.S. News and World Report,* among others—which pointed out that the Communist regimes had so effectively cut off contact between local Catholic priests and the Vatican that the Pope learned of major developments directly affecting the church from the secular press rather than from his own agents. At the height of the controversy many Catholic spokesmen were glad to drop this point, anyway, because the "listening post" theory raised embarrassing questions of the status of Roman Catholic clerics as espionage agents.

What kind of "country" would this United States diplomat be dealing with? The answer to that question was also quickly and authoritatively given—he would be dealing with a fictitious "country." As Anne O'Hare McCormick observed in the New York *Times* of December 24: "Advocates who argue that the appointment is not to a religious leader but to the ruler of the scrap of real estate called Vatican City do not get much support here [in Rome]. The mission is either to the Pope as the head of a world-wide church or it is nothing, it is pointed out; to pretend anything else is to make the appointment useless or reduce it to absurdity. All other countries sending representatives to the Vatican accredit them to the Holy See, and if the United States decides to send one at all it will follow the regular formula."

Of course, what Mrs. McCormick said on December 24 directly contradicted what the New York *Times* had said editorially on October 22 ("our envoy . . . is not going to be Ambassador to the Roman Catholic Church"), but no one had been fooled by the official explanation of the White House or its apologists anyway.

Would United States diplomatic relations with the Vatican today be comparable to the relations that existed during the first half of the nineteenth century? A glance at the history books will reveal that the answer to this question is an obvious no. At that

period in history the pope was, in fact, the sovereign ruler of territory amounting to one fourth the geographic area of modern Italy, embracing numerous provinces, cities, and seaports, and with a population which, in 1853, numbered 3,124,758. The Papal States were abolished with the unification of Italy in 1870, and no pope was able to even pretend to the status of temporal sovereign until the Fascist dictator, Mussolini, graciously restored the pontiff to something of his former dignity by recognizing Vatican City. Today the Pope may pretend to be a secular ruler, but the American people are not inclined to join in the pretense. Even during the heyday of the "Papal States" of the last century, the United States never went beyond sending low-ranking diplomatic representatives to look after the travel and commercial interests of Americans sojourning in Rome, and with specific instructions to have no dealings with the Pope as a religious leader. This limited relationship was terminated in 1867, when Congress cut off funds for the mission in reprisal against the repression of free Protestant worship in Rome. Against such a background it is not hard to understand why the late President Roosevelt decided to avoid any direct affront to the American tradition of church-state separation, and to rely instead on the subterfuge of a "personal representative" of the President, the post filled for ten years by Myron C. Taylor. Mr. Taylor contributed to the "purposes of diplomacy and humanitarianism" by spending most of his time away from Rome, and by making blundering gestures toward the leaders of non-Catholic denominations whose position he completely misunderstood. (See article by Winfred E. Garrison in the *Christian Century,* November 14, 1951.)

Moral and constitutional questions aside, can President Truman's proposal be justified on "practical" grounds, as a means to make advantageous bargains between the United States and an important power in Europe? Again, the answer must be no. The question itself raises another question: For whom would these "bargains" be advantageous? The hard truth is that the Pope is in far more trouble than is the United States, and it is he who needs us, not we who need him. Communism has made successful inroads against the church in Catholic countries of Europe. Mr. Taylor's service as a personal representative has shown how ineffective the Vatican "listening post" is. It is doubtful that the Vatican would have anything of strategic value to communicate to the United States. Even assuming that the Pope might have such information, he is in no position to demand that the Government of the United States abandon a fundamental American principle—church-state separation—in exchange for it. The pontiff has no choice but to cooperate with the anti-Communist forces of the world so far as he is able, unless he wishes to see his own church annihilated. Therefore, he need not be too choosy about the technical rank and official relationship of any American representative to whom he may wish to communicate any "secret" information he may have. The regular American ambassador to the state of Italy, whose headquarters are within a few city blocks of the Holy See, would certainly be an appropriate person to whom to convey this benefit.

What of other democratic nations that have long maintained diplomatic relations with the Vatican without any noticeable loss of freedom? The answer to this is that while every nation is free to pursue its own policy, and some "free" nations have sent diplomats to the Vatican, they are not nations that are uncompromisingly committed to the ideal of church-state separation, as is America, and in the American view these nations do not have complete freedom of religion. England, for instance, is a basically democratic state, but it has an established church—a relationship which is abhorrent to the American mind. There is no reason why we should follow her example. Furthermore, it should be noted that all the nineteen nations that send ambassadors to the Vatican are predominantly Roman Catholic in population and many have a full-fledged union of church and state. Non-Catholic nations having diplomatic relations with the Vatican do not send ambassadors, but lesser officials. Obviously, if President Truman's plan for an ambassador is adopted, it will mean a complete and revolutionary overthrow of a great American principle, and America will become the first non-Catholic nation in the world to send a full ambassador to the Vatican. On the other hand, if we remain true to our tradition, we will not send a diplomatic representative of any kind to "the ruler of the scrap of real estate called Vatican City," whose only significance on the international scene is as the head of a church with millions of adherents in various countries of the world. Our Government was founded on the theory that a state should not be a church, and a church should not be a state. Any action by the United States to send an ambassador, minister, or chargé d'affaires to the head of a church would be a repudiation of that principle; any extralegal move by the President to send another "personal representative" to the Vatican would be as bad. It is time to return to first principles.

Wasn't the uproar over the Clark nomination just another resurgence of that old-fashioned "anti-papist" bigotry which used to disgrace our country? No, for many of the voices most prominent in the outcry belonged to Americans of various faiths who have always been distinguished for their unswerving opposition to racial and religious discrimination of every kind. Of course, President Truman's nomination of General Clark also afforded an opportunity to a few anti-Catholic fanatics to "go to town," but that was only the natural result of his proposal to single out one church for an extraordinary and altogether un-

American bestowal of Government favor. Citizens who are concerned for national unity and the freedom of all groups must oppose the appointment for that very reason.

Isn't it inconsistent to oppose diplomatic relations with the Vatican while approving diplomatic relations with Great Britain, Sweden, and other countries whose rulers are also heads of the national churches in those countries? No, for real, not fictitious, "states" are involved in these instances. American emissaries are sent to the king of England and the king of Sweden in recognition of their civil, not their religious, functions. The situation of the Pope is altogether different. As his very title indicates, his significance derives entirely from his religious function. There is no more reason to send an ambassador to the pontiff than there would be to send one to the president of the World Council of Churches, or any other comparable body.

When all the considerations on both sides of this controversy are weighed, the conclusion becomes inescapable that the legal and constitutional arguments presented in favor of United States representation at the Vatican are just window dressing, and are not even seriously presented. The only thing that remains is the argument of expediency, and when *that* is realistically examined it becomes apparent that the "expediency" involved does not affect the welfare of the United States, but rather the political future of persons ambitious of holding high public office—or of continuing to hold high public office—in the United States. It is not necessary to repeat the political analysis of President Truman's action which has been presented by many seasoned commentators. I venture to hope that the American people will make it unmistakably plain to their political leaders that this country wants no ambassador, no minister, and no personal representative to Vatican City.

The Right of Free Men to Engage in Legitimate Business

THE RIGHT OF FREE MEN to engage in legitimate business is exemplified by the door-to-door salesperson who is so familiar a part of the contemporary American scene. He can trace his ancestry to the very birth of our traditional system of free trade and enterprise. In the beginning, the "Yankee peddler" was one of the few means for the distribution of goods and he played a vital part in the early widening of our frontiers. On foot, on horseback and then in wagons, as roads supplanted Indian trails, he traveled from settlement to settlement and farm to farm bringing the inhabitants the manufactures of the towns and cities. With his stocks of tinware, brass, clocks, jewelry and silverware, hats, shawls and laces, drugs and chemicals, pottery, books, brooms, knives and woodenware, cotton and silk goods, the ancestor of today's direct sellers made an indispensable contribution to the early growth of industrial America. He opened markets for the products of struggling manufacturers and modern house-to-house salesmen often perform much the same function.

Pioneering Small Businessmen

These venturesome small businessmen pioneered in establishing the right of free men to engage in legitimate business. Their markets expanded with the establishment of roads, canals, the railroad and the automobile. At the same time, these improved means of transportation reduced the number of people who were originally almost entirely dependent on these salesmen to obtain manufactured goods. It became easier for people to supply their wants from retail stores or mail order houses which, with direct selling, constitute our three principal forms of merchandising. That the "Yankee peddler" has survived and greatly multiplied himself in the form of the contemporary direct-to-the-home salesperson would in itself indicate that direct selling makes contributions of definite value to our way of life.

These contributions are not always readily apparent or fully appreciated. Even in Colonial days, house to house vendors were the victims of prohibitive or punitive legislation. The history of this country is

replete with examples of the folly of building barriers against legitimate trade and laws designed to accomplish this purpose are invariably repealed or fall into disuse. Nevertheless, and despite all the lessons of experience, there are those who would persist in denying to direct sellers the right of free men to engage in legitimate business.

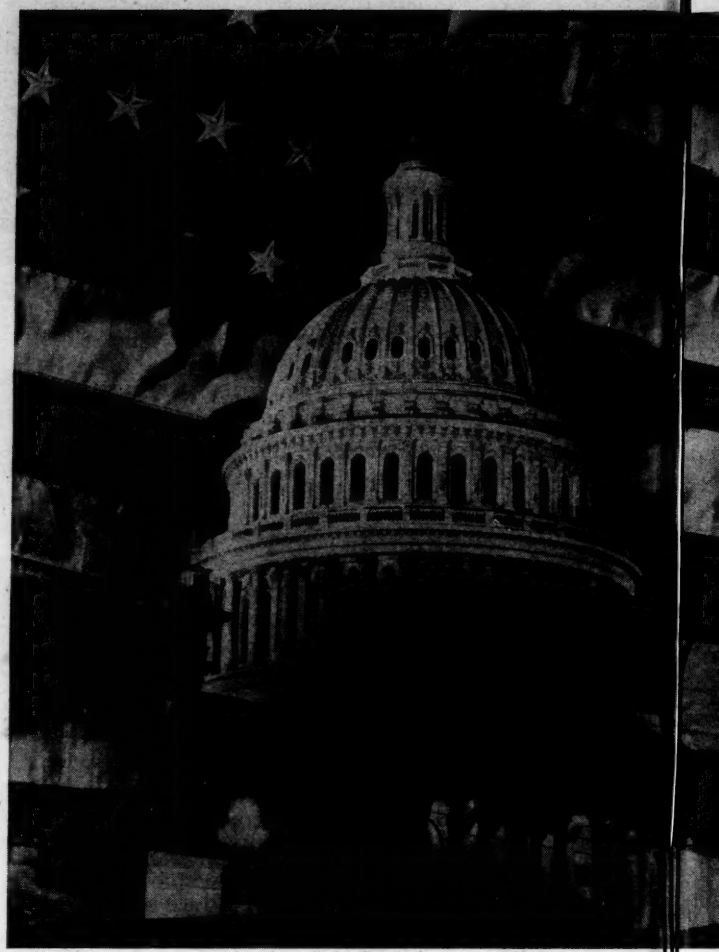
The Green River Ordinance

Some twenty years ago the town of Green River, Wyoming (population approximately 2,500) passed an ordinance which made it a nuisance, punishable as a misdemeanor, for a person to go in and upon a private residence for the purpose of selling merchandise unless the salesman had been requested or invited to do so by the occupant of the premises. Laws similar to this Green River Ordinance have since been adopted by a number of, for the most part, small communities.

For all practical purposes, the effect of these ordinances, if enforced, is to destroy direct selling as a lawful means of conducting business. As Chief Justice Vinson of the United States Supreme Court has stated:

"In my view, the ordinance is a flat prohibition of solicitation."

Naturally, the constitutionality of any law which denies to free men and women the right to engage in a fundamentally legitimate business has been vigorously disputed. The highest courts of eleven states to whom this question has been presented have decided that the Green River type of ordinance is unconstitutional in those states; their counterparts in six states held to the contrary. On June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Green River Ordinance does not violate *federal* constitutional law. The ruling in no sense legalized the ordinance in communities where it has been held to violate *state* constitutional law. It did not take away from the states the right to determine the validity of the ordinance for themselves under the provisions and limitations of their basic laws. As stated above, under their own laws and without reliance upon the Federal Constitution, eleven states have already made their own determinations that the ordinance is invalid. This is a matter for local rather than national decision and the United States Supreme Court ruling of June 4, 1951 merely points that out by eliminating any federal or national issue.



A. Devaney

A unique combination of the Capitol of a united nation and its national emblem, the Stars and Stripes.

Apart from legal considerations, thoughtful citizens of every community where the Green River Ordinance is proposed should ask themselves whether the prohibition of door-to-door selling will serve their interests, the interests of their community and the broader interests of the nation.

What Is Direct Selling?

Direct selling is one means of getting goods out of the hands of the producer and into the hands of the consumer. Like the retailer and the mail order house, the door-to-door salesman is a cog in the machinery of distribution. The selling job is just as important as packing, transportation, warehousing or any other part of the distributive process. A manufacturer can produce an abundance of goods and transport them to every corner of the country, but, unless the goods are sold, he will have to go out of business. This is not only bad for him and his employees but also has broad social implications. For every consumer is dependent, directly or indirectly, on production for his income.

Direct selling has a great deal in common with advertising. In fact, the one often complements the other. Both sell by the process of "making known." By showing how a product is desirable, how it can make life easier, simpler, or happier, they both create a want but, at the same time, explain how one may gratify that want. Both bring these want-satisfying goods to public attention. Advertising also tells how and where one may buy them and the house-to-house salesman carries the process one step further by bringing the actual goods to the customer or acting as his agent in their procural.

The primary reason for the existence of direct selling is that many manufacturers have found that, for producer and consumer alike, it is one of the quickest, cheapest and most effective means of selling that has been devised, particularly for the introduction of new products. With respect to certain kinds of goods, no other truly effective means of selling has yet been discovered. Furthermore, housewives welcome the comfort, convenience, service and personal demonstrations which the direct seller brings them. Business operates under the stern injunction of economic necessity to please its customers. If they did not like this method of selling, it would have passed out of the picture long ago.

Scope of Direct Selling

Because direct selling fills a vacuum which might otherwise exist in the distributive process, it contributes significantly to our democratic economy. It has increased in scope and stature until today there are in the United States six or seven thousand big and little companies and manufacturing concerns engaged in direct selling. Their sales are now estimated to aggregate $7,000,000,000 annually, part of which is shared by almost every community. The wisdom of abolishing an industry of such magnitude, giving employment to hundreds of thousands of people, may be seriously questioned.

These direct selling companies manufacture and distribute countless necessities and luxuries which have come to be regarded as necessities under the American standard of living. The list includes food products, toilet articles, medicinal preparations and insecticides; vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, washers and other home appliances; brushes, mops, cleansers and kindred household necessities; animal feeds; children's wear, dresses, foundation garments, hosiery, knitwear, lingerie, raincoats, shirts, shoes,

men's and women's suits and coats, uniforms and work garments; cooking ware and tableware; nursery stock; oils, paints and varnishes; fire extinguishers, blankets and household furnishings and specialties of all kinds; greeting cards, magazines, encyclopedias and other books, not the least of which is the Bible. All these and many other goods or the immediate means of obtaining them, are brought to your door by more than 1,500,000 direct salespeople.

Who Are the Direct Sellers? America's Smallest Businessmen

The great majority of these men and women are your neighbors. The original "Yankee peddler" who carried his pack from settlement to settlement has his descendants in the itinerant salesmen of today and these transient vendors are among the best customers of such local business firms as hotels and motels, garages and service stations, laundries, dry cleaners, restaurants and many others. And the money they spend in these establishments has a way of filtering into other business channels in the community.

Nowadays, however, the itinerant is the exception rather than the rule in house-to-house selling. Actually, 88% of all direct salespersons live in the communities in which they carry on their work. The dollars they earn are returned to the community to purchase food, shelter and clothing for themselves and their families. Their savings are entrusted to the safekeeping of local banks. They vote, participate in local activities, go to church, and send their children to school in the community in which they gain their livelihood.

According to a recent nation-wide survey, the average age of the direct salesperson who calls at your door is 45 and he will have been engaged in sales work for approximately 9 years. He is probably married (83%) with an average of 2.1 dependents. Eighty-one percent of these men and women own cars. Fifty-six percent own their own homes and have the same problems of fuel and repairs and taxes that other homeowners do. Forty-two percent are lodge members. *America's smallest businessman,* the direct salesperson occupies an established place in the business and social structure of his community. Do you favor legislation that would deny him his right to engage in legitimate business?

Direct Selling Is Local Business

Aside from these independent salesmen, a surprising number of established local business firms of

an average community use direct selling methods. They include:

- Automobile dealers
- Bakeries
- Bottled gas dealers
- Dairymen
- Electric Light and Power Company
- Electric appliance dealers
- Frozen food dealers
- Gas company
- Roofing, siding and insulation dealers
- Storm window dealers
- Truck gardeners
- Insurance agents and agencies
- Ice dealers
- Laundries
- Newspapers
- Oil burner dealers
- Real estate agencies
- Refrigerator dealers
- Sewing machine agencies
- Vacuum cleaner agencies
- Venetian blind dealers

Local business firms like these use direct selling to obtain new customers, to introduce a new product or service and for other purposes which account for a major portion of their business.

Clubs and fraternal organizations, the Girl Scouts with their cookies, the most respected groups in the community frequently use direct selling as a means of raising funds for useful civic and charitable purposes.

Direct Selling and Religion

The churches of the community often make effective use of direct selling methods. For example, most religious newspapers and periodicals obtain their circulation through house-to-house canvassing. Referring to the Green River Ordinance, the reverend director of the nation's largest Catholic magazine recently stated:

"Ordinances of this type, even if not strictly enforced, would be disastrous to us and have great harm for the cause of religion, since it would be impossible to keep employees if they were constantly living under

the threat of being harried by the police in various communities."

Other clergymen have declared that the ordinance would interfere with the sale of Bibles and Bible-reading materials to people in their homes. "It violates the very commission and injunction given by Jesus Christ to evangelize the whole world with His gospel," said the executive secretary of the Board of Home Missions of the Baptist General Conference.

Direct Selling and Education

The Bible is the greatest, but only one of the great books, which require direct selling methods for their distribution. It is a fact that every great reference work and encyclopedia is dependent for its existence on sales direct to the home. Only in this way can the educational value and general usefulness of these books be adequately explained by a trained representative. The success of modern educational methods depends upon the widespread availability of this kind of reference material and direct selling is the only way that has been found to market these books successfully without prohibitive cost to the buyer.

Direct selling is a major factor in the great circulations of the magazines of America. And a big share of the circulations of most of our daily newspapers is from orders placed with carrier boys.

Direct selling contributes to the educational opportunities which are so largely responsible for the greatness of our nation in still another way—through the effective use of college students who must earn their education. It gives remunerative vacation-time employment to thousands of students and thousands more augment their income by door-to-door sales on college campuses and their environs during the school year.

Aiding the Handicapped

Others who must limit themselves to part-time activity find direct selling peculiarly adapted to their needs because the direct salesperson is his own boss. As an independent business man, he can tailor his working hours to fit his individual circumstances, recognizing that his earnings will be in direct ratio to his own efforts and his own ability.

Widowed mothers may find a career in direct selling the only means by which they can support their families and, at the same time, perform their household duties. Persons living on inadequate pensions and others who need more income often turn to direct selling to increase their earning capacity. Direct selling offers a fertile field of income to the partially disabled or physically handicapped in both sales and productive capacities. In community after community where the Green River Ordinance has been proposed, its most ardent opponents have been groups concerned with the welfare of the blind and other handicapped people. Deprived of the means of supporting themselves, many of these courageous citizens would become charges on the taxpayers of the community.

Introducing New Products

A list of the products, now in everyday use but originally introduced by direct sellers, would read like an inventory of the average, comfortable American household. There are certain kinds of products which seem to demand the direct demonstration

method of selling to introduce them when they are first placed on the market. Apparently it is not enough to *tell* people how they can benefit from the possession of these goods; they must be *shown* in their own homes. The vacuum cleaner, the washing machine, the sewing machine and many others were introduced to the American public in this way and continue to be sold economically and effectively by the same methods. Direct selling is largely responsible for the modernization of American home equipment, comforts and labor saving features.

The safety razor and many small articles selling at a low price have been equally dependent on the pioneering efforts of the direct salesperson to introduce them to the public. Can you imagine a modern kitchen without a can-opener? The inventor and original manufacturer of one of the finest can-openers on the market tried in vain to obtain a market through the channels of jobber and retailer. Imminent bankruptcy practically forced him to turn to solicitors to distribute his invention. Through their efforts it rapidly gained such a good reputation that, three or four years later, the inventor was able to resume selling through stores. He did so with great success because the public demand had now been created by direct selling.

Creating Continuing Demand

Thus, the door-to-door salesman is a creative, educational force in our economy. He does not take a market away from the local merchant so often as he creates a new market where none existed before. In the long run, the retail merchant benefits from the creative selling and personal demonstrations of the direct seller. He is the pioneer who introduces the new product. He is the educator who makes the consumer aware of his need for the merchandise. He creates the buying desires which develop into an expanding market. The result is that every sale made by the direct seller is multiplied over and over again and these sales, for the most part, go to the local merchant.

Direct Selling an Employer and Buyer

The six or seven thousand companies engaged in direct selling employ more than a million workers to manufacture their merchandise and distribute it to the 1,500,000 direct salespersons. This is in addition to the indirect employment given to thousands of other employees of railroads, trucking companies and local warehouses utilized in the process.

The suppliers of direct selling companies are located in cities and towns all over the United States. Mining towns, paper towns, lumbering towns, manufacturing towns, railroad towns—all are part of the web of industry furnishing the raw materials, the tools, the parts, the finished products and the services that go into the manufacture and merchandising of the goods that are brought to your home by the door-to-door salesman. For example, there are thirty-two different parts, produced by as many companies, which must be purchased for the manufacture of a single home-sold vacuum cleaner. Fifteen different kinds of tools and equipment must be purchased from other manufacturers to build the cleaner. Dozens of other auxiliary services and materials are utilized by this direct selling manufacturer. The suppliers and distributors to direct selling are a diversified cross-section of industrial America. A survey of a single major city, Chicago, disclosed over 1,600 companies involved in acting as suppliers of basic merchandise and material to the direct selling industry.

Direct Selling and Labor

The arbitrary abolition of direct selling through widespread adoption of the Green River Ordinance would have a crippling effect on industrial production that would be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. Unemployment figures and relief rolls would soar because American business could not fail to be grievously injured by the mortal wounding of one of its integral parts. This threat to unemployment has evoked widespread condemnation of the ordinance by labor leaders, a typical representative of whom states:

> "Organized Labor can only construe any limitation of opportunities of honest employment for working men and women as a definite threat against the security and well-being of all segments of this country. We are and shall always be unalterably opposed to restrictions which may threaten the individual freedom of all types of workers."

Abuses in Direct Selling

It has been argued that the Green River type of ordinance is needed to protect the citizens of a community from being defrauded or abused by villainous salesmen. There is a minority of fraudulent direct sellers just as there is a minority of dishonest retailers and mail order firms. As is true of American business as a whole, that minority is very small. The proportion of swindlers and purveyors of shoddy mer-

chandise among direct sellers is no greater than it is in other forms of merchandising. Out of 111,144 complaints (not all of them justified) received by the nation's Better Business Bureaus during the first six months of 1951, only one and one-half per cent involved direct selling generally.

The direct selling industry as a whole has pledged its members to a course of fair dealing with its customers. Witness the following standards of practice adopted by the National Association of Direct Selling Companies and its member firms on May 26, 1950:

1. We believe that all merchandise should be represented fairly to the public; that all statements as to quality and prices should be truthful, constructive and informative; that any method of selling which involves arrangements with the customer should be clearly stated so that there will be no misunderstanding.
2. We believe that in the sale of merchandise there should be no use of misrepresentation or subterfuge including misstatements of a seller's plan of operation or misleading methods of approach to a sale or the deceptive use of the names of other companies in any way.
3. We believe that proper cooperation and understanding between the National Association of Direct Selling Companies and its member firms with organizations representing the mutual best interests of business and buying public, notably the National Better Business Bureau, the local Better Business Bureaus, Boards of Trade and local Chambers of Commerce, will help to justify public confidence in and further the acceptance of direct selling and the maintenance of good merchandising and trading principles.

The overwhelming majority of direct sellers are honest vendors of honest merchandise. To demolish a seven billion dollar industry in the hopes of catching a few thieves on its fringe is like burning down a barn to roast a pig. It violates a cardinal rule of American justice—deeply rooted in the fundamentals of fair play—that it is better for some who are guilty to escape than for the innocent to suffer.

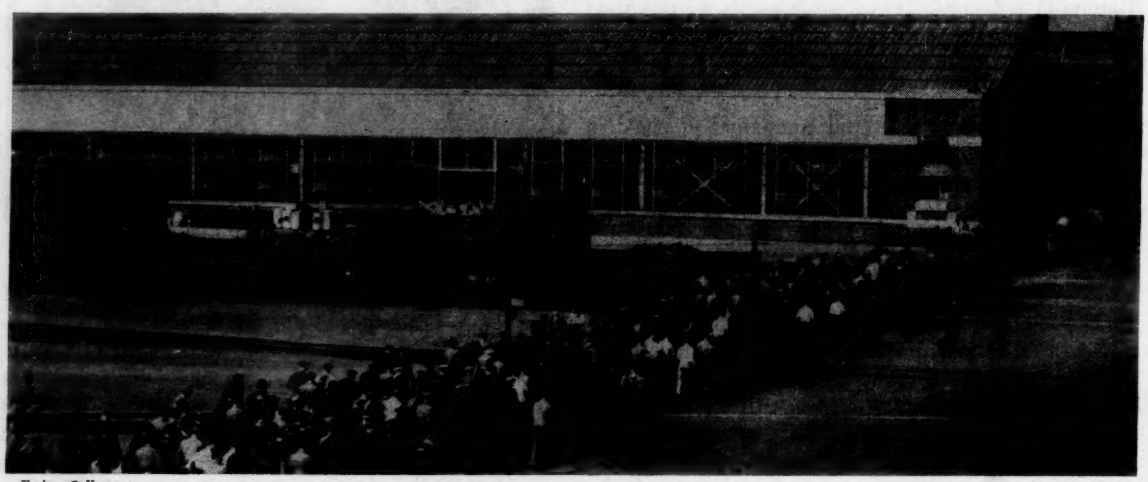
Shall the Innocent Suffer?

Curiously, while the Green River type of ordinance would effectively bar from business the great majority of law-abiding direct sellers it offers no guarantee of protection against the swindler. Laws can be devised to *punish* fraud but no laws have ever been found which would *prevent* the perpetration of fraud by those who have no respect for the law.

Those householders who prefer to have no dealings with direct sellers have a simple remedy. They can post their premises, secure in the knowledge that legitimate salespersons will not trespass upon their privacy. Any irresponsible or dishonest vendors who do so should be reported to the police. There is every reason to believe, however, that the majority of people welcome the special services the direct seller brings to their door and would resent a law that dictates against their buying as they choose. In Palo Alto, California, the only city where the Green River Ordinance is known to have been submitted to popular vote, it was turned down by the public nearly six to one.

Every community has laws, or should have laws, to punish the minority of direct sellers and other business renegades who are guilty of fraud, misrepresentation or deceit. Enforcement of these laws would seem to be the practical solution to that problem where it exists. It can be done without denying to free men the right to engage in legitimate business serving the needs and convenience of the community and contributing to the economic strength of the nation.

(Bulletin published by the National Better Business Bureau, Inc., Chrysler Building, New York 17, N.Y.)



Ewing Galloway

CONSCIENCE and Unemployment Benefits

By ALVIN W. JOHNSON, Ph.D.

On April 15, 1952, and again on May 1, 1952, two important court decisions were handed down, one in Michigan and the other in Ohio, which have done much to clarify the thinking in a somewhat confused, if not chaotic, situation that existed relative to the eligibility of an individual for unemployment compensation where one had declined certain employment because the position proffered required the person to work on a day, or some portion thereof, which he or she conscientiously observed as holy time.

In the District of Columbia it was held that a person was eligible for unemployment benefits even though plaintiff had declined employment that required work on Sunday which she felt she could not conscientiously perform on that day. Likewise in California the State Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board ruled that a Seventh-day Adventist who left her job because of a requirement that she work Saturdays was entitled to unemployment benefits. The Board noted the unemployment insurance act permits persons to draw benefits when their reasons for quitting are of a compelling nature.

A number of cases have arisen in connection with Orthodox Jews, where administrative boards and bureaus have declared them ineligible for unemployment benefits because they had declined to accept employment that required them to work on their seventh-day Sabbath. It is fair to say that there is a considerable variance in practice by administrators, bureaus, and boards in the matter, and that certainly no unanimity of opinion exists upon the subject.

In declaring as ineligible for unemployment benefits persons who have declined positions offered them because such positions required them to work on days and hours which they conscientiously observed as their Sabbath, administrative boards and commissions have referred to the Michigan Supreme Court decision of *Ford Motor Company* v. *Unemployment Compensation Commission,* commonly known as the Koski case.

The Koski case involved a woman who restricted her hours of work to the afternoon shift in an industry that operated around the clock. She stated that her reason for insisting on the afternoon shift was that she had two sons, and that she wished to be home mornings in order to get them up, get their breakfasts, and get them off to school.

The Supreme Court of Michigan in denying her right to compensation stated, "When claimant stated she would not accept work except on the afternoon shift, she clearly made herself unavailable for work of the character that she was qualified to perform." 316 Mich. 473.

The court further stated, "the Michigan Statute, in prescribing availability for work as a test in determining the right to unemployment compensation, does not limit such availability to particular hours, nor does it grant the right to impose any such limitation." p. 474.

It will be readily seen that the question involved in the Koski case does not deal with the unavailability of a person because of his religious convictions concerning the observance of any particular day.

In the decision handed down by the Circuit Court for the County of Calhoun, Michigan, on April 15, 1952, plaintiffs Bessie Swenson, Aileen I. Langs, and Neva I. VanSycklye had each filed an appeal by certiorari from the decisions of the Appeal Board of the Michigan Employment Security Commission denying them benefits under the Michigan Employment Security Act.

The records showed that plaintiffs had been employed for a number of months but were laid off for lack of work. The petitioners registered for work and then filed applications for benefits under the Michigan Employment Security Act.

In their applications they stated that they could not work from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday of each week, because they were of the Seventh-day Adventist faith. On the basis of these statements the commission held that the plaintiffs were ineligible for benefits. Plaintiffs filed protests, and the commission filed redeterminations, again holding that plaintiffs were ineligible for benefits. Appeals were taken to the referee, who filed his decisions, reversing the redeterminations of the commission, and held that plaintiffs had established their availability under the act and were entitled to its benefits.

Appeal was then taken by the commission from the decision of the referee to the State Appeal Board, which reversed the decision of the referee, holding

with the local commission. From these decisions appeals were taken to the circuit court.

The two questions raised before the court were (1) whether or not plaintiffs had restricted their availability to shifts and days that do not conflict with their Sabbath, as Seventh-day Adventists; namely from sundown on Friday to sundown on Saturday, so as to render them ineligible for benefits under the provisions of the State act; and (2) whether sufficient effort had been put forth by plaintiffs to secure employment during the time they were unemployed. In answer to the second question the court held that the evidence taken before the referee clearly indicated that plaintiffs had in good faith sought employment each week during their unemployment.

In consideration of the first question and the one of prime consideration in this discussion, the Michigan act reads as follows: "An unemployed individual shall be eligible to receive benefits with respect to any week only if the Commission finds that:

"He is able and available to perform fulltime work of a character which he is qualified to perform by past experience or training, and a character generally similar to work for which he has previously received wages, and he is available for such work, full time, either at a locality at which he earned wages for insured work during his base period or at a locality where it is found by the Commission that such work is available." Sec. 28 (c), being Section 421, 28 (c) of the Compiled Laws of Michigan for 1948.

In making reference to the Koski case the court pointed out that in that case there was no question regarding the unavailability for work because of religious convictions that the Sabbath must be observed. Her unavailability for full-time work was for purely personal reasons and did not involve the violation of plaintiff's rights to religious freedom, as guaranteed by the State and Federal constitutions.

In referring to the case of *Kut* v. *Albus Super Markets, S.C. Ohio,* 66 N.E. 2nd, 643, cited in the Koski case, the circuit court pointed out that "the dictum in this Ohio case ignores both the spirit and purpose of the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Ohio and the Unemployment Compensation Act of Ohio.

"Five of the justices in the Kut case chose to disregard the rights of religious worship as guaranteed by the Federal and State Constitutions, by saying in substance, 'By choosing your religion, you elected to forego economic benefits when you are unemployed.' The test in Ohio apparently is that economic coercion upon religion is constitutional so long as the individual is free to leave his church and change his religious beliefs. Clearly the courts of our State will not be bound by such a theory and conclusion.

"If such a theory and conclusion is carried to the limit, in this day when economic conditions are such that many of our factories now operate on a round the clock and a seven days a week basis, then such an interpretation of availability under the Act, would be such as to compel members of all religious groups, whether they be Adventists, Protestants, Catholics, Jews or other religions to either give up their religion or forego benefits under the Act.

"Clearly we have not arrived at that time in the State of Michigan that our material welfare so overshadows our spiritual welfare that we can no longer observe the Sabbath."

The court observed that there is no provision in the act that expressly states that the provisions of the act are to be so construed as to prevent persons from the exercise and enjoyment of their religious liberties, secured to them by the provisions of both the Federal and State constitutions.

The court went on to say that "the purpose of the Act in relieving economic distress brought on by unemployment was intended by the legislation to apply to all persons, no matter what their color, religion or creed might be, and to so construe the Act as to prevent any of said persons from enjoying the benefits of said Act because of their religious beliefs, is attempting to read into said Act something not included therein, and is in violation of the Constitutional provision mentioned."

The court concluded that the decision of the Appeal Board to the effect "that plaintiffs have failed to meet the eligibility requirements of Section 28 (c) by reason of their limiting their availability to hours and days that do not conflict with their Sabbath as Seventh-day Adventists is contrary to law, and the provisions of said Act."

In Ohio the Court of Common Pleas for Lucas County on May 1, 1952, reversed a ruling of the administrator, the decision of the referee, and the decision of the Board of Review of the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation of Ohio, as well as a former decision made by the same court, when it held that a Seventh-day Adventist who refused a position requiring Saturday work is entitled to unemployment benefits.

Mrs. Regina Tary, of Toledo, Ohio, a stenographer, had lost her position with a Toledo firm of public accountants. The Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation recommended to her a certain position. Mrs. Tary, being a Seventh-day Adventist, could not accept the position offered her, because it necessitated working on her seventh-day Sabbath. When she declined the position the Bureau terminated her unemployment benefits on the ground that in failing to accept the position offered her she had in that act made herself ineligible for unemployment compensation. The Ohio Board of Review supported the Bureau ruling, whereupon Mrs. Tary appealed to the court.

In a written opinion handed down by the Ohio court last January the court had denied Mrs. Tary's claim, affirming the ruling of the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation and its State Board of Review.

Steps were then taken to appeal the case. In the argument on the motion for rehearing of the appeal the court reversed its former decision, stating that a 1948 amendment of the Ohio statute not previously cited permits a person to reject employment which might injure health or morals. The court concluded that the acceptance of a job whereby plaintiff would be acting contrary to her religious beliefs would be injurious to morals.

Perhaps the line of reasoning followed by the Michigan court is more in harmony with the Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. However, there can be no question that both of these decisions will have significant influence on future cases of this kind.

The Cardinal Is Calling the Cops Four Centuries Late

IF THE SURPRISING REMARKS of the Spanish Cardinal Segura have been reported accurately, they are sure to strain the charitable efforts of Americans—Catholic as well as Protestant—to understand the Spanish mentality. The Cardinal is reported to have complained in a pastoral letter that "Protestant proselytism, having broken the dikes of tolerance, is not hesitating to advance on the open field toward religious freedom in our country."

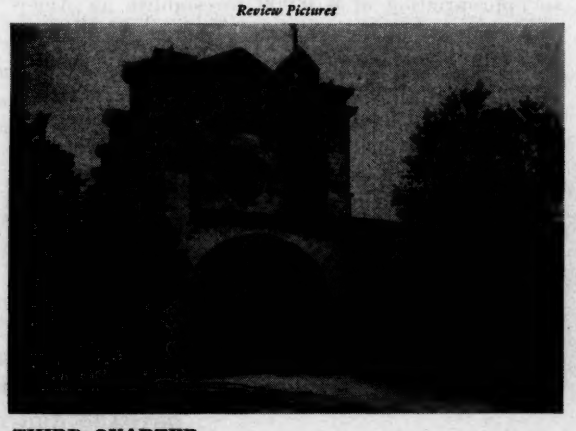
Catholic writers who have been painfully explaining that religious freedom, of a Spanish sort, exists in Spain will certainly be embarrassed by the Cardinal's blunt admission that religious freedom is an evil to be avoided at all costs. Some Catholic comment will doubtless fall into the rather tired and unimpressive line that Catholics are persecuted in some Protestant countries too.

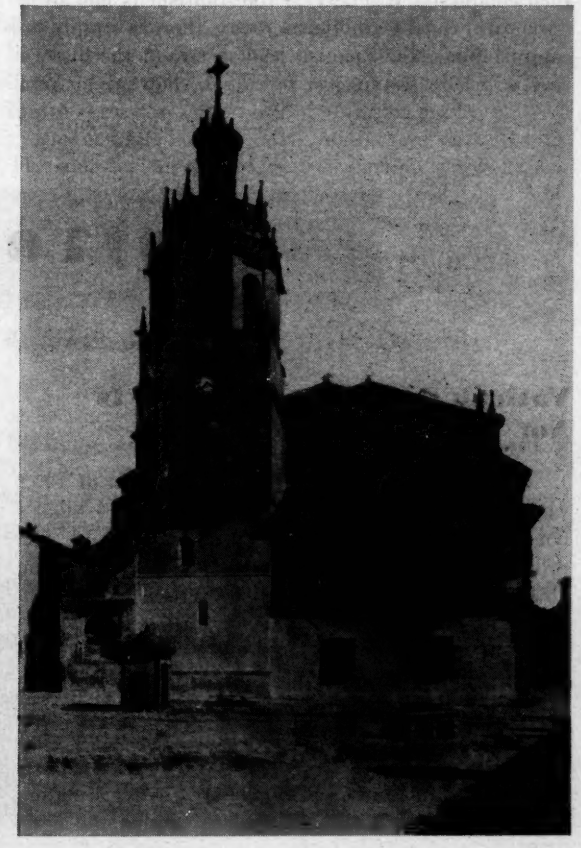
Behind the Times

We think it is high time to admit that Spain is quite a bit behind the times. Everyone knows that Spain is a good century behind the leaders of the Western world industrially and agriculturally. But in the matter of religious harmony Spain seems to be roughly four centuries in arrears. For some obscure reasons Spanish churchmen do not seem to be ready to admit what happened around 1520—namely the Protestant Revolt. Cardinal Segura's reported remarks would have had a timely ring if they had been uttered in 1552. However, it seems a bit fatuous to cling at this date to the attitude that the Protestant heresy

Here we present two of the many pictures we have of the picturesque old church buildings in Spain.

Review Pictures





is a dangerous threat which can be forestalled only by vigilance and rigorous control. Elsewhere in the world Catholics and Protestants have long since passed through the stage of refusing to acknowledge each other's existence.

Lesson From History

Catholics in other countries, while equally zealous and orthodox in their adherence to the Faith, see Protestantism not as a threat but as a fact. They hold quite as strongly as Cardinal Segura that Protestantism is a heresy, that it teaches serious errors in doctrine. They deplore too the harm to a united Christendom which the Protestant Revolt has caused. But in America, and elsewhere, competition, not suppression, has been the automatic reaction. It seems to us that Cardinal Segura, Dictator Franco and others in Spain should take a look at their history books. Not only could they discover that the Protestant Revolt actually did happen and had rather considerable repercussions all over the world, but they might also notice that any persecution—short of extermination—has invariably strengthened the persecuted religion in the long run. Catholics should be the last to forget that.

Another point that history might clarify is that Protestantism has lost by this time most of the vigor and drive that once characterized it and brought it such conquests. Whenever Protestantism is met by a strong informed Catholicism today, there is simply no contest. When the Spanish leaders tire of the history review, which we suggest for them, they might gaze abroad at the current religious scene. One point that might occur easily is that Protestantism is the wrong dragon today. Any lances that can be spared from the anti-Communist battle had better be tossed at other targets than Protestantism. A second lesson from current history might be derived from a comparison of the vitality and vigor of American Catholicism flourishing in a Protestant stronghold, with the protected and over-advertised brand of Catholicism in Spain.

Oppressive Burden

To some these remarks may smack of religious jingoism, but we feel it is past time for American Catholics to be relieved from the oppressive burden of our Spanish brethren. We have spent weary hours cleaning up the blood the Spaniards overzealously spilled in the Inquisition. If they wish to call the cops on the Protestants four centuries late they can take the blame themselves. Let them fend for themselves against the slings and arrows of world opinion.

In time, we trust, even the Spaniards will recognize that although religious error has really no rights, the heretics who hold the error do have certain fundamental rights which the state must respect and protect—rights that the Popes as head of the Papal States preserved for the Jews and Waldensians in the Eternal City itself—to follow one's conscience, to build one's churches and to worship as one chooses, so long as this does not infringe upon the rights of others.—*Indiana Catholic and Record,* March 14, 1952. Reprinted by permission.

EDITORIALS

Vatican Appointment Issue Is Not Dead

OUR ISSUE OF THE FIRST QUARTER of 1952 was devoted entirely to the matter of the President's nomination of an ambassador to the Vatican. The protest against this appointment, which reached the President and the members of Congress, indicated a very deep feeling on the part of millions of Americans on this matter. It has been asserted, however, that President Truman has not given up the idea of appointing someone as an ambassador.

That citizens are not justified in concluding that the writing of the letters removed all the dangers, is shown by some later developments in Washington. Near the end of March dispatches carried the news that "the State Department has asked Congress for an appropriation of $70,000 to establish an American Embassy at the Vatican." George W. Perkins, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, presented the request to the House Appropriations Subcommittee, describing the "proposed mission as a 'small one.'" It had been planned for "six American and four Italian employees to staff the embassy." It was also thought that the amount sought would cover the necessary expenses for the official residence of the ambassador. The committee to which the request was made voted to disapprove it, saying that none of the funds appropriated for the State Department for the fiscal year, 1953, which begins in June, 1952, "may be used for a new diplomatic mission prior to confirmation by the Senate of the appoint-

ment of the first head of mission or other diplomatic representatives."

The State Department was criticized in certain Congressional quarters for raising any "unnecessary issue" by asking for this sum for the Vatican ambassador's expenses. The Religious News Service, without naming the man, credited a State Department spokesman with expressing the opinion that the item in the budget might have been a "political blunder." He said, "It got in there somewhere in the preparation of the budget estimates and nobody took it out. They probably thought it was so small nobody would be concerned about it." "Tall oaks from little acorns grow." H. H. V.

The Name of Christ in the Constitution

WE HAVE MADE REFERENCE a number of times to the attempts of good folks to have the name of Jesus Christ placed in the Constitution of the United States, the fundamental law of our land. We have opposed such efforts because we did not believe they would do any good, rather that they would be harmful.

It is reported in the press that the constitution of South Africa has recently had this clause inserted: "The people of the Union acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God." This is referred to as the "first important achievement" of the present prime minister.

The sentence is a pious one, but it has not kept South Africa from attempting to disfranchise 50,000 "half-caste voters." Though the Supreme Court of South Africa declared the law unconstitutional, the leaders of the present government are attempting to pass a statute that will undo the Supreme Court's decision, and apparently they have sufficient votes to accomplish their wish. An effort will be made to "make a joint parliamentary session . . . the supreme arbiter of whether the laws passed by Parliament are or are not constitutional."

The Prime Minister of South Africa began life as a preacher, but apparently he and those who stand with him have forgotten that the "Almighty God," whose sovereignty and guidance they are supposed to acknowledge, "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth . . ." H. H. V.

A Barber Objects to Discrimination

THE OWNER OF THE BARBERSHOP met his first Americans when United States troops entered Germany at the close of World War I. He liked these soldiers. They were good to him, apparently holding no hatred for those who had been conquered. He was only a lad at that time, but decided to emigrate to America as soon as he possibly could. But he was poor, and considerable time elapsed before he reached the port of New York.

For many years now he has owned his business and his home in the United States. He is proud of his American citizenship and grateful for the opportunities found here to earn a comfortable living.

Usually calm and even tempered, he showed enough irritation one day to stir our curiosity, and to cause us to ask, "What is the matter?" His reply intrigued us a good deal, for he said, "The District of Columbia has a regulation that is unreasonable and unfair. It allows beauty parlors as many hairbrushes as they need, but denies this equipment to barbershops." He went on to say that a day or two before he was giving a customer a crew cut, and commented that it was impossible to do this well without the use of a brush. The customer had brought his own brush. An inspector for the barber examiners of the District of Columbia came in and asked, "What are you doing with a hairbrush in your shop?" The customer's statement that the brush was his made no difference to this petty official. Of course, he could not reprove the man in the chair, but he said to the barber, "If I ever catch you using a hairbrush again in this shop, I am going to see that you get fined."

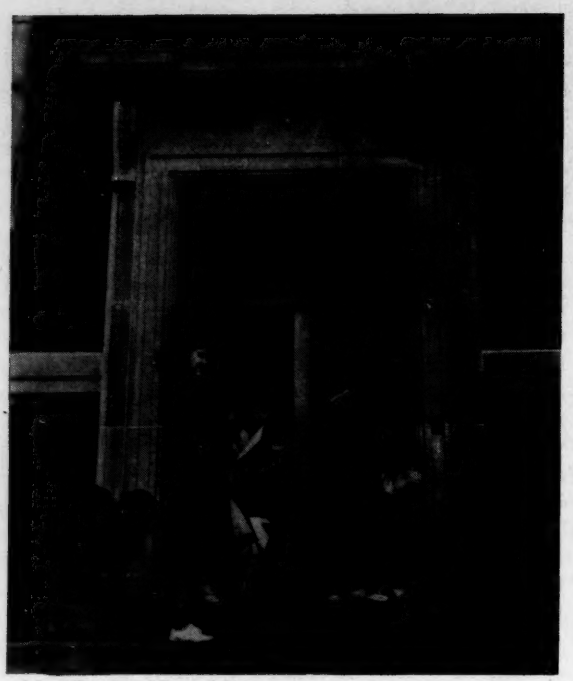
After telling all this the barber was silent a long time, then he said, "These officials of the Barber Examiners' Board came from the Old World just to get away from such petty regulations and such domineering officials. Now they are here and are trying to force the same kind of thing on us."

Barbers are not the only immigrants that forget. Through the history of America, from the colonies until today, many religious folks have forgotten that religion cannot thrive under the use of force any more than it did in the Old World. H. H. V.

Governmental Call to Prayer

EVANGELIST BILLY GRAHAM terminated a series of meetings which he held in the Armory Building in Washington, D.C., with a mass meeting on the plaza of the Capitol, which he addressed from the steps of the Capitol building. At that time he suggested that the Congress and the President should join in appointing a national day of prayer for the people of the United States. This suggestion was taken up by Congressman Percy Priest, of Tennessee, and introduced in the House as House Joint Resolution No. 365. The resolution was passed by the House, adopted by the Senate, and has now been signed by President Truman. The Resolution reads:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled that the President set aside and proclaim a suitable day,



John Collier From Library of Congress

Two young misses pause a moment before entering school.

other than a Sunday, as a National Capital Day of Prayer on which the people of the United States may turn to God in prayer and meditation, in groups and as individuals."

We do not share the joy expressed by sincere churchmen at the passage of this resolution. We do not understand that in the United States it is the province of Government to lead out in religious devotions or activities. This does not mean that our Government is antireligious. We emphatically deny that it is so. But neither is our Government proreligious. It is a government, a civil organization and function. The adoption of this resolution is probably a well-meaning gesture that in the long run will not mean much in the spiritual life of our people any more than the Thanksgiving Day that is proclaimed each year by the President is of great significance spiritually to our people. But it puts the Government in a position of leadership in spiritual matters which should be occupied by the churches in increasing faith and spiritual courage.

One trouble with these moves of government in relation to religion is that they furnish an accumulating precedent for an increasing tie-in of religion with government. As an example of this we call the attention of our readers to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in deciding the case of the New York system for the weekday teaching of religion. In justifying the court's approval of the school authorities taking the responsibility for dismissing the pupils to attend the weekday religion classes, and for taking cognizance of their attendance or absence at such classes, the majority opinion marshaled a long host of precedents showing that government is concerned with religion. This joint resolution adds one more precedent to a list that is moving the people of the United States toward a union of church and state. To this we take objection. F. H. Y.

Parochial School Leaders Try New Tactics in British Columbia

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT AID for parochial schools is agitated from time to time under striking forms. In British Columbia, Roman Catholic leaders of education are asking that their separate school system be integrated into the public school system, with the government paying rent for the use of the parochial schools, and the parochial school children to receive free bus transportation, textbooks, health and welfare services, with the added provision that the religious character of the parochial schools be retained. In Maillardville, British Columbia, where there were over eight hundred pupils enrolled in the Roman Catholic parochial schools, the Catholic authorities closed their schools and sent their pupils to the public schools. The effect of the sudden influx of these hundreds of parochial school children can be pictured. Because there was no religious instruction given, the Catholic children staged several one-day strikes, during which they went back to their parochial schools, where they received catechism instruction. They then returned to the public schools. The parochial schools in that town are still shut down, and Catholic leaders are insisting that they must receive financial aid. According to Religious News Service, W. T. Straith, the minister of education for British Columbia, has declared that he does not wish to administer the department of education under any other but the system now prevailing there.

In a recent speech Dr. Conant, President of Harvard University, praised the "unity of diversity" existing in the American public school system, with its emphasis upon local control. But according to Dr. Conant, diversity is one thing, duality is another. He sees a danger in the systems of parochial schools that are being maintained in this country. He declared:

"I do believe, however, that there is some reason to fear lest a dual system of secondary education may in some states, at least, come to threaten the democratic unity provided by our public schools. I refer to the desire of some people to increase the scope and number of private schools."

This is an arresting criticism. It is particularly so when it is remembered that certain of our most influential religious bodies in this country have been most successful in carrying on a program of denom-

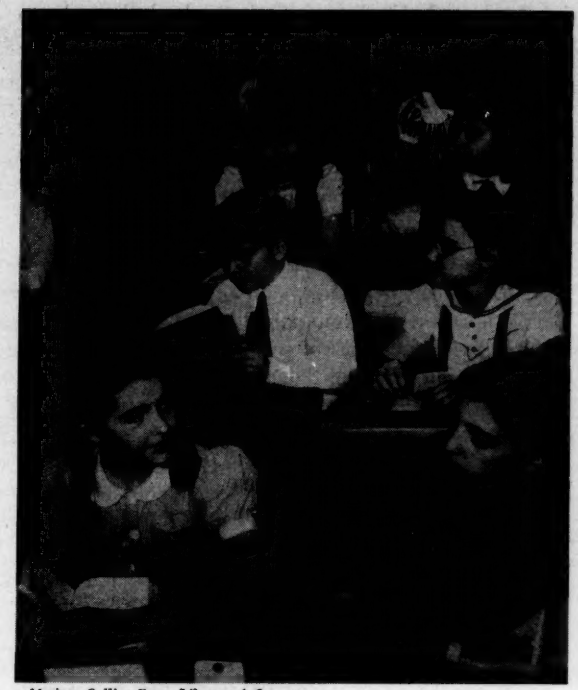
inational schools. We instance the Presbyterians, the Friends, the Lutherans, and the Roman Catholics. We mention such schools as Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton as examples of institutions of learning of immeasurable influence, which were founded and maintained for years as denominational schools. Many court cases, several of them decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, have made it clear that it rests with the parents to determine how their children are to be educated. Full recognition is given to private and parochial school as satisfying the demands of compulsory attendance laws.

Why, then, should Dr. Conant sound a note of alarm concerning the duality of an educational system which permits both public and private schools? We quote him: "What is the basic objection to a dual system of education, you may ask. Or put it the other way round, what are the advantages of free schools for all? To ask these questions is almost to give the answers. If one accepts the ideal of a democratic, fluid society with a minimum of class distinction, the maximum of fluidity, the maximum of understanding between different vocational groups, then the ideal secondary school is a comprehensive public high school. . . . A dual system serves and helps to maintain group cleavages, the absence of a dual system does the reverse. This is particularly true of the secondary schools. Indeed, I would plead with those who insist on sending their children to denominational schools that they might limit their insistence on this type of education to the elementary years."

Dr. Conant feels then that a single system of education, under public control, but diverse in that that control is locally exerted, is most consonant with the democratic way of life in this country. We make bold to suggest that this may not be so and that it need not be so. The state has a right to see that its future citizens are educated in their youthful years in such a way as to equip them for living successfully in a democracy. The state has a right to see to it that any school operating under its jurisdiction inculcates the democratic principles of society, and gives the children under its instruction the proper preparation for life in a democracy. The responsibility can be readily discharged.

It is a good thing that the public school system was founded. It has greatly accelerated the elimination of class and sectarian distinctions. The American public school system is a great democratic institution. Dr. Conant recognizes that 92 per cent of secondarian pupils are in public high schools today. This is a good thing.

But the value of the public school as our outstanding democratic institution should cause no one to open the way for a prohibition upon parents to provide for their children a particular kind of education they might desire for them. Most parents do not wish to do this. Most parents wish their children to



Marjory Collins From Library of Congress

Just one more page and then recess.

spend at least part of their years of education in the democratic atmosphere of the public school. We hope the day will never come, however, when parents will be denied the right of giving to their children an education which emphasizes particular values, such as religious or social values, which they wish to have emphasized for them.

However, we feel that Dr. Conant's immediate fear is that our dual system of education will result in the private and the parochial school demanding financial aid from tax monies for the support that they feel the need of in these days of inflation. We agree with Dr. Conant that there is a serious danger, which should be met head on. Dr. Conant says: "To each one who attacks our public schools I would ask the simple question: 'Would you like to increase the number and scope of the private schools?' If the candid answer is in the affirmative, I would then ask a second question: 'Do you look forward to the day when tax money will directly or indirectly assist these schools?' If the answer is again in the affirmative, the lines have been clearly drawn and a rational debate on a vital issue can proceed."

It has been said again and again in the columns of this journal that it is the right of the parents to educate the child with the particular emphases he desires the child's education to have. But if he exercises this right, it is up to him to pay the bill. The tax monies of the people of the United States are used to support a very excellent public school system, a very democratic system, a system amazingly efficient in view of the large numbers of children and teachers

involved, and the diversity of standards brought to bear through the local control which is our practice. If parents do not wish to participate in this system, for which the tax monies they themselves pay are expended, they have the right, and in this country the recognized right, to spend additional funds to give their children the particular emphasis in education which they desire. But in no case should the state be asked to aid them in these particular emphases. In no case should public tax monies be used for the support of private or sectarian education. When any particular church becomes insistent that tax monies be used for the support of sectarian education, as has been illustrated in the demands made upon the tax monies of British Columbia, it rightly places under public scrutiny the whole program of sectarian education. It draws the church into politics and makes denominational lines a matter of political concern. It tends to destroy the principle of separation of church and state and threatens to destroy the liberty furnished by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. F. H. Y.

Legal Enforcement of Good Friday Observance

DURING THE DAYS PRECEDING EASTER it is natural for those who believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and man's Redeemer to feel anew how horrible sin is. It is perfectly proper for Christians to give extra time to meditation and prayer during the period often referred to as Holy Week. Many desire to show particular reverence for the day of the crucifixion, and as long as they refrain from secular duties on Good Friday, or part of it, voluntarily there can be no ground for opposition even by those who may not be believers in Jesus Christ.

However, the tendency that has arisen to coerce those who feel no inclination to give Good Friday the status of a holy day is a dangerous thing. Representative John A. Maguire, of Connecticut, during the present session of Congress, introduced a bill in the United States House of Representatives, H.R. 7040, to give "Good Friday the same legal holiday status as Christmas, Thanksgiving, the Fourth of July, New Year's Day, Memorial Day, and Armistice Day."

This bill if enacted into law would not make Good Friday a holy day, and probably would do nothing to help its observance. It is easy to multiply religious rights and ceremonies. This generally leads to indifference rather than to zeal. Countries that have many of these days have not been distinguished by religious devotion or piety above their neighbors who have less. In some countries saints' days and feast days take a large part of the calendar. Recent dispatches have told of persecution of Protestants who refuse to obey laws requiring that all places of business be closed on religious days of a certain group.

America does not have to be irreligious to be opposed to religious legislation. It cannot be shown that the gospel of Jesus Christ has ever been advanced by the influence of secular law. To ask state aid is to confess that one hardly believes in the inherent power of the gospel. Let the churches of the United States use all the power of persuasion or the influence of teaching that they can to bring men into a knowledge of the gospel and to urge them to practice its precepts.

We are alarmed at the Good Friday movement and the form it has taken in a number of places. The power of opinion may be persecutory. To have merchants bludgeoned into closing stores on Friday afternoon by the threat of a boycott is entirely unworthy of the spirit of the Founder of Christianity. The New York *Times* on April 6, 1952, reported that certain Jewish storekeepers who had been unwilling to display in their shops cards which said, "We will close from 12 noon to 3 P.M. Good Friday," would lose a "large section of their clientele." We think these Jewish merchants were right in saying, "We don't ask them [Christians] to close their businesses on our holidays and there is no reason why we should close on theirs."

What travesty it is to use the memorial of the day on which Christ died for all men to attempt to impose Christian ideas by force.

The multiplication of forms and ceremonies will never save the world. Mass ritual can never take the place of singlehearted devotion. Nothing is clearer than that the gospel of Jesus Christ is intended as a means of grace only for those who accept it willingly. We believe that any man who wants to spend the hours from noon to three o'clock on Good Friday in religious worship should be released from his employment to do so. This is simply a matter of religious liberty and a consideration for another's belief, but we repeat, we are alarmed at the efforts that are being put forth to force the observance of Good Friday. H. H. V.

Missouri Enforces Separation of Education and Religious Instruction in Public School

IN JULY, 1942, the Supreme Court of Missouri, Division Number One, rendered a decision involving the St. Cecelia School. An injunction was brought by certain patrons of the school against the use of school funds for purposes that were alleged to be sectarian and religious. This school was begun as a parochial school, but later was taken into the State public school system. Certain textbooks and the course of study prescribed by the State were adopted, but in other respects the school was conducted

as a parochial school. In the court's opinion, rendered by Judge Douglas, he said, "We find from the record that the nominal supervision by the school board is but an indirect means of accomplishing that which the Constitution forbids," adding that one of the provisions of the Constitution says: " 'That no money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect or denomination of religion, or in aid of any priest, preacher, minister or teacher thereof, as such; and that no preference shall be given to nor any discrimination made against any church, sect or creed of religion or any form of religious faith or worship.' Thus, we have an explicit interdiction of the use of public money for a *teacher* or religion *as such* which has been violated by the Board."

Later the opinion added, "The constitutional provisions are mandatory and must be obeyed."

It is strange that this action of the highest court of the State of Missouri had not served to restrain others from violating the same provisions of the constitution. However, recent dispatches have reported a case tried before Circuit Judge Emmett J. Crouse. Seven taxpayers had charged that public tax money had been used for religious purposes in three different schools in two districts in Franklin County and that public funds were being used to pay the transportation of students to and from school. It happens that the community in which the schools are located is predominantly Catholic. Evidently some Protestant parents objected to their children having to sit under Catholic teaching in the schools. As a partial effort to meet this objection, certain school districts had paid the tuition of non-Catholic children to public schools in other counties. The opinion of Judge Crouse held that public funds cannot be used for the support of Catholic nuns as teachers.

The evil complained of by taxpayers in the suit brought in Judge Crouse's court has been rather widespread in Missouri. Evidently as a result of the litigation, conditions will be changed in a number of other places. It has been reported from Jefferson City, Missouri, that Roman Catholic nuns will be withdrawn as teachers in public schools in several Missouri districts. We are at a loss to understand why, in view of the Missouri Supreme Court's decision in 1942, Catholic authorities in that State have been so slow to correct conditions that were out of harmony with the constitution of the State and the decision of its highest tribunal. H. H. V.

NEWS and COMMENT

The State of Israel Bans Travel in Private Cars on Sabbath

NEWS DISPATCHES report that Israel is short in its fuel supply, and has decided that, beginning with June 25, travel in private cars will be forbidden two days a week to everybody except physicians, who are properly exempted from the new regulations. Even taxicabs may operate only five days a week.

One of the days on which gasoline may not be obtained is Saturday. Some of the reports from Israel indicate that the Orthodox Jews who have been working for some time to secure the approval of the civil government for strict Sabbath laws have seized upon the nation's need to help to make it quiet on Saturday.

We hope this is not true. The Jews for centuries have suffered for their faith. There has hardly been a country in the world where they have not been persecuted because of their religion. One of the things that has brought particular hatred and wrath upon them has been their adherence to the Sabbath of the fourth commandment. What a pity it would be if the Jews in their new national home should use the fourth commandment teaching as an excuse for persecution.

Israel should be a land of full freedom in all matters of religion.

Egyptian Church Building Restrictions Ruled Illegal

CAIRO.—Government departments have no right to impose restrictions on the construction of Christian places of worship, it was ruled here by the Council of State, Egypt's supreme court.

The court declared illegal government regulations that for twelve years had prevented the construction of a Coptic Christian church in Port Fuad.

Deciding favorably on an appeal by the Coptic Orthodox Benevolent Society of Port Fuad, the Council ordered the Interior Ministry to pay the society $30,000 in damages and reimburse it for all legal expenses incurred in the court battle.

The society's fight to build a Coptic church in Port Fuad, a new community at the northern end of the Suez Canal across from Port Said, has been waged

since 1940, when it bought land for that purpose from the State Domains Administration.

Following the sale the Administration opposed the erection of the church on the grounds that some residents of the community objected to its construction. Shortly afterward the Interior Ministry, which issues royal decrees permitting church construction, rejected an appeal by the society, justifying the rejection by saying that there already were two Coptic churches in Port Said.

These objections have no legal validity, the Council of State ruled, adding that there was nothing in Egyptian law providing that the construction of a church in a certain locality must be conditional upon the number of worshipers there or upon the approval of other residents of the area.

"Celebration of worship by all communities is guaranteed by the Constitution within the limits of law and customs," Dr. Abdul-Razzaq Sanhouri Pasha, president of the council, said.

In arguing the society's case, Ramses Gabrawi, its counsel, said that freedom to construct a place of worship was "a natural right of citizens consecrated by all the religions" and guaranteed by Article 12 of the Egyptian Constitution. If Egyptian Christians were subjected to the will of neighbors in building a church, he said, it would restrict their freedom of worship.

Japan Permits Private School Religious Teaching

Tokyo.—A ruling by the Japanese government makes possible the teaching of religion as a credit course in private schools beginning with the new school year in April.

Previously, religion could be taught on a voluntary basis only and outside regular school hours.

Representations by the educational and legal departments of the national Catholic Committee here are said to have been largely responsible for the new ruling.

Cairo Governor Attends Church Services

Cairo.—Kamel el-Kaweesh Bey, newly appointed governor of Cairo, has started what was described by the local Arabic press as a "new tradition of good will towards Christian communities."

He attended a midnight service for the Coptic Orthodox community in St. Mark's Cathedral on the eve of the Orthodox Easter.

Previously, Kaweesh Bey attended midnight services at the Melkite (Greek Catholic) Cathedral at Faggalah on the occasion of the Western Easter. Local newspapers said the governor sent police chiefs of various districts to represent him at services in other churches.

It was understood the governor would keep up this custom by visiting a different church during Easter every year.

Catholics Win Educational Victory in Westphalia

Roman Catholic activity in the North Rhine Westphalia Province of Germany has been rewarded by the passage of a law there for the establishment and recognition by the state of three types of schools. "Confessional" schools will be those supported by the Roman Catholic and Evangelical churches. The "general community" schools will be interdenominational, with religious instruction in respective faiths represented among the pupils. The "ideological" schools will be those without religious character. The State is to supervise all the schools, but the churches are entitled to watch over the religious instruction given in the confessional and general community schools. The law was opposed on the ground that it would "clericalize" education in the province and emphasize diversity rather than unity in the educational process.

Gideons Distribute Testaments in Louisville Public Schools

Louisville, Ky.—Weathering strong protests, the Gideon Society has completed the distribution of New Testaments in all public schools here.

Roman Catholic and Jewish spokesmen had charged that such distribution violated the principle of separation of church and state.

After the Testaments were distributed the Louisville Board of Education conferred with these spokesmen at a closed session. The only statement released to the press afterward was: "The matter was discussed fully in an amicable atmosphere."

Meanwhile the *Church Council News,* published by the Louisville Council of Churches, endorsed the distribution of the Bible in schools.

"In a state in which reading of the Bible in the public schools each day is required by law," the council organ said, "it would seem that a school board is well within its rights to permit the Gideons to offer a New Testament with Psalms and Proverbs to each pupil."

Reports Spain to Increase Religious Freedom for Protestants

Madrid.—Greater religious freedom will be accorded Spain's 25,000 Protestants in the future, the Reverend Paul E. Freed, Greensboro, North Carolina, Baptist evangelist, was assured here by Interior Minister Blas Perez Gonzalez.

Mr. Freed, the first foreign Protestant clergyman ever received by a member of Generalissimo Franco's

cabinet, said Mr. Perez had promised that the government would "work toward obtaining more religious freedom for Protestants in Spain."

He also promised, Mr. Freed said, that "most" of the 31 Protestant places of worship recently closed by government would be allowed to reopen and that Protestants would be permitted to open new churches when a need was shown.

Churches, Grocers, Exchange Compliments

ENID, OKLA.—Page advertisements in Enid newspapers by local churches complimenting grocerymen on their decision to close on Sunday were reciprocated by the grocerymen. They also advertised —to express appreciation for the concern of church people and pledging that their stores would remain closed.

Names of all the major churches of Enid were signed to the ads commending the merchants.

Church Members Denied Special Parking Privileges

HAGERSTOWN, MD.—Parking regulations established in the business section can't be disregarded to make it easier for church-goers, city officials here have ruled.

Local police had permitted members of two downtown churches to park in restricted areas during Sunday morning services, because of the shortage of parking space.

The Board of Public Works ruled that special privileges of this type should be abolished because of the driving hazard that results.

New Libyan Constitution Assures Religious Freedom

TRIPOLI.—The constitution of the new independent United Kingdom of Libya assures complete freedom to all religions, while declaring Islam to be the State religion.

Article XXI guarantees that "freedom of conscience will be absolute."

"The State will respect all religions and faiths," it states, "and will assure Libyans and foreign residents in its territory of freedom of conscience and the right to practice their religion freely as long as it does not interfere with public order and is not contrary to morality."—Religious News Service, March 19, 1952.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The only danger apparent in the foregoing is that sometimes "public order" and "morality" are defined to the advantage of some particular religious group and to such a marked disadvantage to minorities as to make the words almost meaningless. It is to be hoped that Libya will permit no such thing.

Community Donates Million to New Catholic Hospital

EVANSVILLE, IND.—Citizens of various faiths here have contributed $1,000,000 to help build a new hospital to be operated by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

The hospital will replace the present St. Mary's Hospital, oldest in the city, which is operated by the same order. The new building and equipment will cost six million dollars and is expected to be completed in 1954.

It was the response to the fund campaign that decided the order to assume the financial burden of building the new hospital.

In addition to the million dollars contributed by the community, *the hospital will get $2,208,000 in federal aid.* The Daughters of Charity must supply the remainder. [Italics added.]

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Church Supervision of Elections Proposed

BISHOP OTTO DIBELIUS, of Berlin, Chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, makes the interesting proposal that in order to ensure free, honest elections throughout Germany, the church be asked to supervise the elections. He declared that everyone can have confidence in the "integrity, honesty and reliability" of the church as the one organization that "would guarantee that a fair and correct procedure was followed." By the church, Bishop Dibelius means both the Evangelical and the Roman Catholic communions.

Educators Oppose Teaching Religion at Public Expense

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Eastern region of the American Association of School Administrators, held in Boston in April, a resolution was adopted opposing the use of public funds "either directly or indirectly for the financing of religious schools." Another resolution urged that Federal aid be allowed to public schools.

Amish Fathers Fined $5 for Each Day Children Miss School

THREE AMISHMEN WERE FINED, one entered a plea of not guilty and was placed under $1,000 bond, and four others were placed on one-year probation after pleading guilty Tuesday morning in Probate Court to neglect charges resulting from their keeping children out of school.

Probate Judge Ralph Finley handed out fines to three men who had violated terms of a probation imposed last Dec. 4 when they were brought into his court on similar charges.

Each of the three was fined $5 a day for each school day his youngster missed and ordered to jail

John Collins From Library of Congress

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for two days for each one day of school missed. They then were given suspensions of the jail sentences and half of the fines. . . .

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Along with sentences came a lengthy lecture from Judge Finley, who pointed out the court is empowered to mete fines up to $1,000 and a year's jail sentence for the offense for which the men were charged.

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Wisconsin Withdraws Support of Certain Schools Because of Religious Teaching

SOME TIME AGO, G. E. Watson, State superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin, withdrew State support from fourteen schools. It appears that there were different violations of State statutes charged, but the thing in which our readers will be most interested is found in a press release from Mr. Watson:

"Several of these schools are using sectarian books and materials and some are giving religious instruction in the schools. The Constitution of Wisconsin in Article I Section 18 prohibits the use of public money for any religious purposes. Section 3 of Article X of the State Constitution, providing for the establishment of district schools concludes with this provision—'and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein.'

"Pursuant to these constitutional provisions section 14.57(2) of the statutes, outlining the duties of the state superintendent, directs the state superintendent as follows: 'He (the state superintendent) shall exclude all sectarian books and instruction from the public schools.'

"Catechism is being taught in some of these schools. Sectarian textbooks and magazines are in use in some schools. In a couple of schools, diocese report cards are being used in the public schools. In one instance, this diocese report card is signed by the priest. Certainly, these are examples of sectarian instruction and have no place in a public school. . . .

"It is my . . . hope that in each of the districts there will be a determination to operate the public schools in full compliance with the laws of the state.

"I would urge all school boards in Wisconsin to examine their practices and procedures so that none will be guilty of any kind of discriminatory action or sectarian instruction."

California Education Board Studying Bible Reading Proposal

SACRAMENTO, CAL.—A bill providing for Bible reading in the public schools of California is under study by the Curriculum Commission of the State Board of Education. The ten-man commission is expected to make recommendations later in the year.

The measure specifies that "in each class and grade in the public schools, selections from the Bible, from both the Old and New Testaments, shall be read aloud daily without comment. . . . The selections shall be read aloud in the classroom by the teacher, or by a capable student appointed by the teacher, or in the general assembly by the principal, or by a reader appointed by the principal."

It also provides that "no pupil shall be compelled to listen to the reading of the Bible against the will of parents or guardians, expressed in writing to the principal of the school."

Included in the bill are recommendations for studies in the Judeo-Christian religions in high schools and colleges of the State to "imbue the student with high ideals of personal and social behavior."

Although opposition to the proposed legislation has come from various sources, a California Cooperating Committee of one hundred is agitating for its passage. The group includes religious, educational, business, and civic leaders, among them Dr. Robert A. Millikan, physicist and Nobel Prize winner.

The group has pointed out that thirty-six States have mandatory or permissive Bible reading in public schools.

Syria Disbands Religious Youth Groups

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS in Syria may no longer be sponsored by religious groups. The current military government in Syria has decreed that athletic clubs must be placed under the Ministry of Public Education, and all Boy Scout groups, for instance, must merge with the official Boy Scouts of Syria. All youth organizations of a religious, confessional, racial, or political character must within two months have reorganized and met the requirements of the new law. Any who have not complied within the time allowed will be dissolved.

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A Prayer for Today

Once more I feel the thrill within my heart
That I felt, as a child, on every holiday,
When father from its folds unfurled our Flag
And tenderly caressing it said, "Let us pray."
Each one of us knelt down and bowed his head,
"Thank God that we are free men," father said.
Then he hung out the Flag, with love and pride.
While we looked on and clapped, but mother cried.

How long ago it seems, yet that same prayer
Steals to my lips so many times, all unaware,
"Thank God that we are free men," keep us so!
Preserve our Flag—our sons, wherever they may go.
Each dear, brave lad bring safely home again—
And keep us free men for all time, AMEN.

—Grace Madelon Frame.